

Why Newt
is half right

BY JOE KLEIN

Doughnuts,
diabetes &
Paula Deen

Is YouTube
too big to fail?

BY LEV GROSSMAN

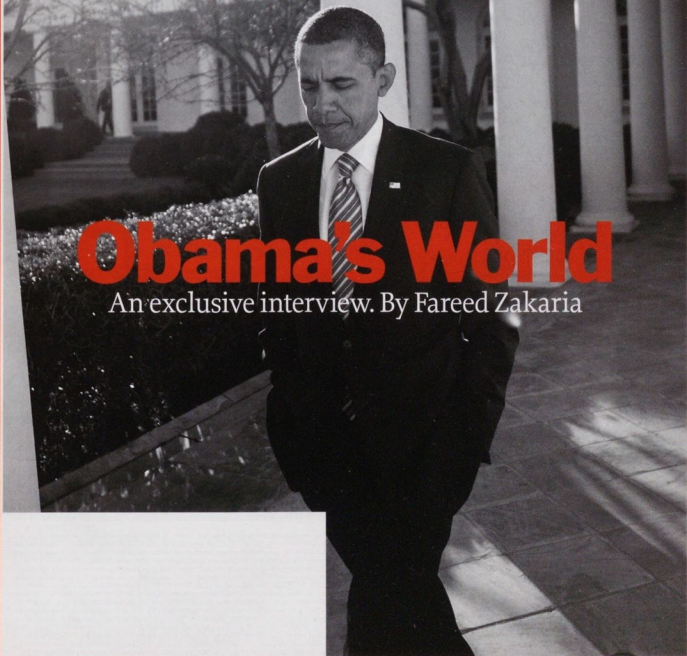
BOOKS

Why Charles is
still selling like
the Dickens

TIME

Obama's World

An exclusive interview. By Fareed Zakaria



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Photograph by Christopher Morris—VII for TIME on Jan. 17



The making of the Obama Doctrine.
Photograph by Christopher Morris—VII for TIME

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Editor's Desk

TIME stories that elicited the most mail

Why It's
Time to
Replace No
Child Left
Behind

Warren Buffett Is
on a Radical Track

Inbox:
Tebow Time

The View from the White House



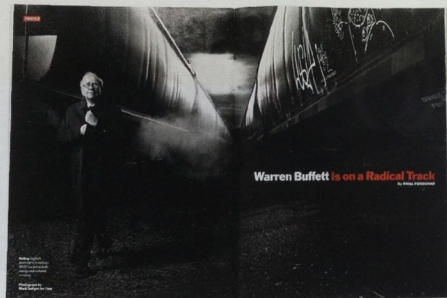
TIME columnist and editor-at-large Fareed Zakaria had a hidden agenda when he sat down with President Barack Obama this week. His 8-year-old daughter Lila was doing a class report on the presidency. "So," the President said with a laugh, "is this interview just a way to help with Lila's homework?" Obama was sipping tea with lemon and honey and mentioned his own daughter Sasha to say he thought he had gotten a sore throat from her. "I'm not a hypochondriac," Obama said, but he did have his throat checked by a doctor. Nothing to be done, the doctor said; hence the tea.

Fareed's cover story is a tour of how Obama sees the world. But there is no better guide to the world as it is today than Fareed himself, who is one of a handful of global thinkers who shape the narrative of our time. Fareed is a foreign policy realist who looks at global problems with pragmatism, a profound sense of history and a deep understanding of what societies need to be successful. Fareed sees Obama as having crafted a foreign policy that has been prudent and cost-effective, but he urges the President to get more ambitious in his vision.

In addition to writing his TIME column and cover stories, Fareed is the host of CNN's premier foreign policy show, *Fareed Zakaria GPS*, which airs every Sunday morning. With his latest cover story done, Fareed is off to the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, where he will moderate various sessions, including one with Treasury Secretary Tim Geithner. We're also sending a team of reporters and editors, including TIME international editor Jim Frederick, who will host a panel on the future of capitalism, which will include Bank of America CEO Brian Moynihan, Carlyle Group managing director David Rubenstein and University of Chicago professor Raghuram Rajan.

Pick

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR



THE CONVERSATION

'He could afford to be a little more generous.'

That was Fox Business commentator Lou Dobbs' response to Warren Buffett's offer to match contributions that Republican members of Congress make to the IRS beyond their tax obligations. *Hardball* host Chris Matthews quipped that Buffett's proposal, first reported in Rana Foroohar's cover story "**Warren Buffett Is on a Radical Track**," was "a safe bet." After the billionaire told Foroohar he'd send the government three times as much as Kentucky Senator Mitch McConnell's donation, the Senate minority leader rebuffed the offer through a spokesman, who said, "Washington should be getting smaller rather than taxes getting bigger."



Up Next ...

TIME.com is expanding its daily business coverage with a smart new section, edited by Scott Medintz, that brings clarity and context to everything from jobs and the economy to the Fortune 500 companies impacting Wall Street, Main Street and beyond. To keep up with market movers (and understand how they affect you), go to business.time.com or TIMEBusiness on Twitter.

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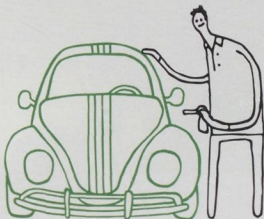
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□ *I hope she gets better.*

□ *I'll embrace tough
coursework, pushing
myself, and being pushed
by others, if that's what
it takes to help her get
the care she needs.*

A photograph of a person sitting in a wheelchair in a hospital room. The person is wearing a white t-shirt and a headband, and is looking out a large window with vertical blinds. A television is mounted on the wall above the window. The room has a polished floor that reflects the light from the window.

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CAPELLA UNIVERSITY *Matter*

Briefing

'When your signature dish is hamburger in between a doughnut and you've been cheerfully selling this stuff knowing all along that you've got Type 2 diabetes ... It's in bad taste.'

1. ANTHONY BOURDAIN, on fellow celebrity chef Paula Deen's Jan. 17 revelation that she was diagnosed with Type 2 diabetes three years ago; Deen will serve as a paid spokeswoman for diabetes drugmaker Novo Nordisk

'I gotta thank everybody in England that let me come and trample over their history.'

2. MERYL STREEP, accepting her eighth Golden Globe Award, on Jan. 15, for Best Actress in a Drama for playing former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in *The Iron Lady*

'This race has degenerated into an onslaught of negative and personal attacks not worthy of the American people and not worthy of this critical time in our nation's history.'

3. JON HUNTSMAN, former Utah governor, who ended his campaign for the Republican presidential nomination on Jan. 16 and endorsed his opponent Mitt Romney

'Listen, Schettino, perhaps you have saved yourself from the sea, but I will make you look very bad. I will make you pay for this. Damn it, go back on board!'

4. GREGORIO DE FALCO, Italian coast guard official, excoriating *Costa Concordia* captain Francesco Schettino, who abandoned ship after the cruise liner ran aground, killing at least 11 people

'We're going to be working hard to make sure that the many numbers of people who signed these petitions are heard and that we have an election.'

5. MIKE TATE, chairman of the Wisconsin Democratic Party, after a political action committee submitted more than 1 million signatures, nearly 500,000 more than required, petitioning for the recall of Republican governor Scott Walker



38 MILLION

Number of U.S. adults who are binge drinkers, defined as consuming eight drinks in a session four times a month

€1.7 TRILLION

Estimated cost (\$2.15 trillion) for Germany to abandon nuclear power, which the country decided to do after Japan's March 2011 earthquake and nuclear disaster



3.8 MILLION

Number of English-language pages Wikipedia blocked on Jan. 18 to protest the Stop Online Piracy Act, which, if passed, would require Internet companies to enforce copyrights of material posted on their sites

4%

Percentage increase in U.S. health care spending in 2009 and 2010, the lowest annual increases in the past 50 years

Briefing

LightBox



Back in the game

Burmese opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi waves to supporters after registering to run in April by-elections—a welcome sign of change in a country long dominated by military rulers

Photograph by Soe Than Win—AFP/Getty Images
lightbox.time.com



World



An embattled Gilani at his home in Lahore in December

A Coup in Slow Motion?

1 | PAKISTAN The civilian government in Islamabad that has clung tenuously to power for four years faces perhaps the most direct challenge to its rule. That's after Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani was summoned before his nation's supreme court to explain why he should not be charged with contempt for failing to reopen a long dormant Swiss graft case implicating Pakistani President (and Gilani's boss) Asif Ali Zardari. Analysts see the hand of the country's powerful military pushing the judiciary into confrontation with Gilani. The top army brass are openly behind another investigation, this one probing what they have dubbed "treasonous" allegations that the civilian government sent a memo to Washington, secretly requesting that the U.S. prevent a possible military coup in Islamabad. The Memogate scandal claimed the job of Pakistan's widely respected U.S. ambassador, Hussain Haqqani, who now lives under virtual house arrest in Gilani's palace compound. After a year that saw Islamabad's relations with the U.S. slump to new lows, the country's weak civilian leadership is particularly isolated, vying with a military that does little to hide its distaste for Zardari's rule as well as political parties seeking to get Gilani sacked.

Not Such A Pariah Anymore

2 | BURMA The reaction was swift. On Jan. 13, Burma released 651 prisoners, among them hundreds of democracy activists, ethnic leaders, senior monks and even a former Prime Minister who had fallen out with the country's ex-military junta chief. Hours later, the U.S. announced that it was normalizing relations with Burma and would soon name an ambassador to the Southeast Asian country for the first time in two decades. Direct diplomatic ties were put on hold in 1990 when the ruling junta ignored the outcome of elections, jailing the winner, Nobel Peace Prize laureate Aung San Suu Kyi. Now, though, a quasi-civilian regime is in place, the military has sealed peace accords with a number of rebel ethnic militias, and Suu Kyi, released in 2010, will participate in April parliamentary by-elections. It's change that even Washington, for now, seems to believe in.

Little Thorn, Big Sting

3 | QATAR In an interview with CBS's 60 Minutes, Qatari Emir Sheik Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani welcomed the idea of Arab troops' quelling the violence in Syria. The government of Syrian President Bashar Assad vehemently rejected this suggestion of "intervention" in the uprising that has claimed some 5,400 Syrian lives since it began last year. Throughout the tumultuous months of the Arab Spring, tiny, oil-rich Qatar has played an outsized role. Its dauntless media network, al-Jazeera, stood in the front lines of pro-democracy protests. Qatari commandos allegedly helped Libyan rebel fighters oust tyrant Muammar Gaddafi. Not surprisingly, Syrian state TV issued reports decrying al-Jazeera and Qatari meddling. But as the West struggles to rein in Assad, the little Gulf kingdom has proved all the more bold.

TAIWAN

'The victory belongs to all Taiwanese.'

MA YING-JEU, incumbent Taiwanese President, who won re-election by a slim margin on Jan. 14 following a contentious campaign against opposition candidate Tsai Ing-wen. As during Ma's first term, cross-strait relations with mainland China are expected to improve.



A Fatal Failure

4 | SOMALIA A report issued jointly by the aid agencies Oxfam and Save the Children claimed the slow response by the international community to last year's brutal famine in the Horn of Africa may have led to as many as 100,000 deaths, mostly in Somalia. As the crisis loomed, relief groups faced a funding shortfall.

Western donor nations dithered, reacting only when the scale of the catastrophe was clear. Said Oxfam head Barbara Stocking: "We all bear responsibility for this dangerous delay that cost lives in East Africa and need to learn the lessons of the late response." Over half the fatalities are likely to have been malnourished children. The presence of the Islamist terrorist group al-Shabab also vexed relief efforts in famine-blighted southern Somalia. The report urges aid groups, the U.N. and its member states to manage risk rather than crisis—to nip future calamities in the bud rather than address them only after they're already on the world's front pages. With reports of food crises emerging in Niger and Sudan, there's no better time than now.



That Sinking Feeling

5 | ITALY Divers emerge after inspecting the wreckage of the Costa Concordia, a massive Mediterranean cruise ship that ran aground and capsized off the Italian isle of Giglio. The vessel's captain is in police custody after allegedly abandoning ship before all passengers had been evacuated. At least 11 people are confirmed dead, and two dozen others are still missing. The accident sent shock waves through the megabillion-dollar luxury-cruise industry.

The capsizing occurred a century after the epic wreck of the *Titanic*





4,234  ONBOARD


1,023  CREW MEMBERS

2,300  TONS OF FUEL OIL

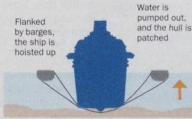
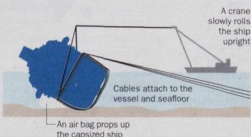


2,224  ONBOARD

913  CREW MEMBERS

5,892  TONS OF COAL

Two ways the Costa Concordia could be salvaged



SOURCES: TIME RESEARCH; BBC



Animal in peril: Mediterranean monk seal

Native to Tuscany's shores and critically endangered, this species would be under threat should the ship's oil supply fully leak out.



Star turn: Jean Luc Godard's film *Socialisme*

The cruise ship was the set for part of the French auteur's 2010 film, recently out on DVD. Passengers in the movie include a war criminal, a U.N. official and musician Patti Smith.

Nation

Between The Lines

By Mark Halperin



► Inexplicable: **Rick Santorum**, campaigning in New Hampshire and now in South Carolina, has not reprised his well-received Iowa caucus-night speech, which presented a moving story of his roots as the grandson of a coal miner ... Even more inexplicable: **Mitt Romney** has not reprised his well-received New Hampshire primary-night speech, which presented a powerful and emotional contrast with **President Obama** ... When **Rick Perry**, in a South Carolina press availability, twice referred to Santorum as "a good Catholic," was he offering genuine praise—or trying to highlight his rival's Roman Catholicism for the state's largely Protestant Evangelical Republican base? ... If **Newt Gingrich** loses the nomination fight, will his boffo debate performances save him from the same fate as **Rudy Giuliani**, who saw his GOP cred and earning power reduced after his disastrous 2008 presidential run? Gingrich was pressed in recent days by backers to muffle his criticism of Romney's years at Bain Capital or else risk losing his marketability in the private sector when the race is over ... The President's installation of budget expert **Jack Lew** as White House chief of staff is a great choice on substance but curiously leaves Obama with one of the most apolitical people ever in the top job, in what is sure to be a competitive election year ... Never have so many heads been scratched in unison as at **Haley Barbour's** decision to pardon scores of convicted criminals, many violent, on his way out the door of the Mississippi governor's mansion ...



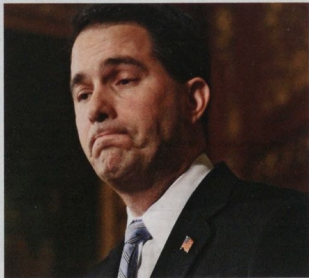
When **Job Bush** endorses a presidential candidate, it will mean the Republican establishment is ready to close ranks around Romney. His broad popularity in Florida could make it game, set, Mitt.



RECALL

Badgering the Governor

Wisconsin's chief executive, Scott Walker, who angered his state's public employees last winter by leading a charge to limit their pay and fringe benefits, will almost surely face a recall election this year. On Jan. 17, anti-Walker organizers delivered to state officials via U-Haul 150 boxes of petitions bearing some 1 million signatures—almost twice the number needed for a recall vote and nearly equal to the 1.12 million votes Walker got in his 2010 victory. When the GOP governor commemorated Martin Luther King Jr. Day in Madison the day before the filing, protesters interrupted, hissing and shouting "Shame!" Walker remains upbeat, asserting that he will survive efforts to oust him from his job.



NUMBER

10.8

Average age, in years, of all cars and trucks on the road in the U.S. in 2011—a record high

MARRIAGE

The State of the Union

Four states are taking steps to follow New York's lead and expand legal recognition of committed gay couples. This year, Maryland, New Jersey and Washington are likely to consider same-sex-marriage bills, and Colorado legislators have introduced a civil-unions measure.

SOURCE: HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN



SNAKES

After years of dithering, the Interior Department announced a new import ban—on snakes. Four “injurious” species—the Burmese python, the yellow anaconda and two different African rock pythons—and their eggs will no longer be eligible for import, sale or transport across state lines. The ban attempts to protect Florida’s Everglades National Park from non-native snakes that have spread in recent years and prey on everything from alligators to endangered species of storks. Still allowed, however: boa constrictors.





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Technology

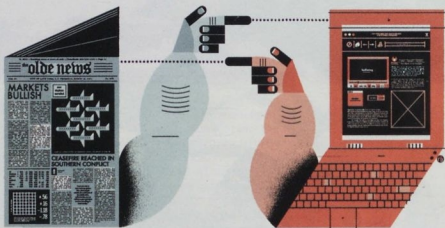
Battlefield SOPA Hollywood and Silicon Valley are duking it out over Internet regulation

By Michael Crowley

WHEN THE ONLINE INFORMATION TROVE Wikipedia went dark for 24 hours on Jan. 18, the greatest impact was probably on panicked college students facing deadlines. But Wikipedia's larger message was clear: none of us should take for granted the freedom and openness that have made the Web such a world-changing resource. Why make that point now? Because Wikipedia and several other major Internet companies fear the Internet is facing a serious threat from potential government regulation. Under intense pressure from movie studios and big music and media companies, Congress has been moving to create new legal powers to crack down on websites that offer illegal streaming and downloading of movies, music and other copyrighted content.

Two bills in Congress, the House's Stop Online Piracy Act (SOPA) and the Senate's Protect Intellectual Property Act, would empower courts to make search engines like Google block alleged copyright violators from their search results and force advertisers to cut off payments to offending sites. That has unleashed the latest battle in the long-running war between Hollywood and Silicon Valley over how to balance copyright issues with Internet freedom. The showdown in Congress pits the recording and movie industries' well-connected lobbyists against the dotcoms' combined power of popular Internet sentiment and their own equally well-connected lobbyists. (Among the supporters of the legislation is TIME's corporate parent, Time Warner.)

Hence the Wikipedia blackout and declarations of protest from other popular sites, such as the discussion board Reddit and the beloved site I Can Has Cheezburger? With Congress gauging how to proceed, here's how the battle over where your Web browser can go is playing out.



PIRACY OR CENSORSHIP?

PRO: Online piracy is a plague that steals profits not just from big movie studios and record labels but also from actors, musicians and their supporting casts. It drains as much as \$58 billion per year from the economy and threatens millions of jobs, by some estimates. Current law allows for limited action against pirate sites, but cracking down on foreign sites that may be beyond the reach of U.S. law would require new legal powers. Would Wikipedia just sit back and let other sites steal its material?

CON: Where are we, China? In the U.S., we don't tell people what sites they can look at. The Obama White House was right to express concern about "the risk of online censorship." The bills are too broad and would have unintended consequences. They would ensnare small sites that have done nothing wrong in expensive legal battles. Larger sites like YouTube and Facebook would have to begin burdensome new monitoring of their users' activities or risk legal action because a few teenage girls posted a video of themselves bopping around to a copyrighted Katy Perry song.

AT WHAT COST?

PRO: *Censorship* is a misleading emotional buzzword. This isn't about free speech; it's about grand larceny. Sites like YouTube and Facebook don't need to worry. The law would target only foreign websites that "have no reason for existence other than copyright theft," as a recording-industry spokesman puts it. A law-abiding Web user would never notice a difference. You can still has cheezburger, people!

CON: The bills' supporters exaggerate their economic losses, which aren't great enough to justify government meddling in Google's search results. And imposing new regulations on the Internet is sure to create new costs. That's why so many of the country's top dotcom companies, from Google to Facebook to Twitter, are protesting this move.

THE LEGISLATIVE SHOWDOWN

PRO: Congress has already backed down from the most controversial provisions, including one that would block access to pirate sites by tinkering with the Domain Name System, which many dotcom leaders consider sacrosanct. We're open to a compromise solution and expect that our industries' many friends in Congress will pass something this winter.

CON: We're not new kids in town anymore and have our own big-shot Washington lobbyists. Plus we've got huge online audiences. Send Congress back to the drawing board—and this time, give us a voice in drafting the law. Or else we'll stage more online protests and kill the idea entirely.



NEW

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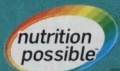
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Health&Science



Bat Signal. Bats are dying in record numbers, heralding a real problem for people

By Alice Park

THERE'S AN ANIMAL APOCALYPSE AFOOT IN THE NORTHEASTERN U.S. Between 5.7 million and 6.7 million bats are estimated to have died since 2006 from white-nose fungus—an infection marked by the telltale white fuzz around their noses—in 16 U.S. states and Canada, according to officials at the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. The new estimate finds that the death toll is far worse than wildlife biologists had believed, perhaps five to six times as high as a previous count in 2009, and it could spell disaster—not just for the animals but for humans as well.

The deadly fungus has the potential to erase entire species of bats in the Northeast. Biologists who have painstakingly counted bat carcasses in mines and caves each winter since the infection was first detected more than five years ago in a cave near Albany, N.Y., found that in some affected caves, not a single night flyer remained. The most vulnerable species include the little brown bat, the tricolored bat and their northern long-eared cousins, all usually long-lived species, scientists say.

As alarming as the possible extinction of these bat species is, even more worrisome is the potential loss of a critical part of the ecosystem. A female bat of reproductive age can consume her weight in insects each night—and that amounts to millions of pounds of insects each year. If the bats are wiped out, insect populations could explode, including pests that can decimate food and agriculture yields and infest forests, not to mention the swarms that plague summer barbecues and spread disease to humans.

So far, bat populations in the Western U.S. seem to have been spared the fungus, but biologists are concerned that it is poised to spread. More than 140 partners from government and academic institutions met recently to devise a response to white-nose syndrome, but at the moment there is no treatment for it. Scientists are studying the bodies of afflicted bats to find a remedy, hopefully before it's too late.

EXERCISE

Game On, Grandma

Exercise is good for the body and the brain—too bad that the people who stand to benefit most are the least able to take advantage of it. The elderly often aren't physically robust enough to exercise, and their risk of falls and injuries may outweigh the potential benefits of working out. But that's where technology can lend a hand.

In a study of 102 older adults, researchers found that those who were assigned to ride a cyclebike—a stationary bike equipped with a virtual-reality screen that allowed riders to “cycle” through different environments and interact with obstacles and other bikers—lowered their risk of progressing into mild cognitive impairment (MCI) by 23%, compared with those riding traditional stationary bikes. MCI, which may precede Alzheimer's, is a state of cognitive decline more severe than that due to normal aging, but not advanced enough to impair daily activities.

What's so special about the virtual screens? By navigating paths and interacting with other riders, albeit virtual ones, participants were able to engage their bodies and their brains while cycling—thus improving their scores on tests of executive function—the researchers say.



HEARING

But You Knew This

Listening to headphones while you walk may be a great way to distract yourself from the length of your journey—and from the car that's about to run you over.

That's the finding of a new study by University of Maryland researchers, who report that from 2004–05 to 2010–11, 81 American pedestrians wearing headphones died in accidents involving cars or trains they didn't hear or see coming. The rate of such headphone-related injuries tripled in that time.

Not only can audio players distract users' attention with their dials and other functions, but headphones can isolate listeners in a sensory cocoon, making them oblivious to hazards like traffic or warning sirens and horns.

VITAL SIGNS

16%

Percent increase in risk of having a low-birth-weight baby for each additional alcoholic drink a pregnant woman consumes toward the end of the first trimester. Experts say there is no safe time to drink during pregnancy.



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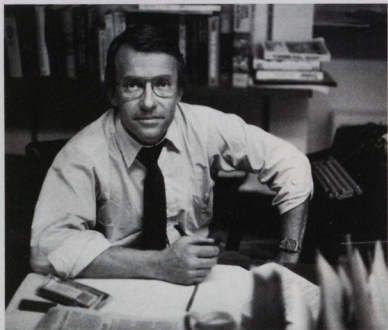
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DIED

Richard Threlkeld

By Bob Simon

Richard Threlkeld and I both started out on the CBS News assignment desk in the mid-1960s. We were the among the first generation of reporters to go directly into television, with no newspaper experience. So when we joined the ranks of print veterans—Cronkite, Collingwood, Rooney—fine writing and reporting were still all that mattered. Richard, who died Jan. 13 at 74, was a good-looking guy with a distinctive delivery. But his writing was superb, his compulsion to be where big things were happening so powerful, he would have done just fine an octave higher and 20 lb. heavier.

We met up in many faraway spots. In the final days of the Vietnam War, we flew out on one of the last choppers from the roof of the U.S. embassy in Saigon. We agreed that even if we stayed in the business another 50 years, we'd never get anywhere close to a story of that magnitude. The Americans had lost a war. But for me, the most staggering of his accomplishments was the first-rate weekly cover-story series he did later for *CBS Sunday Morning*. Richard, before you left us, couldn't you have given your old friends at least a hint as to how you pulled that off?

Simon is a correspondent for CBS's 60 Minutes

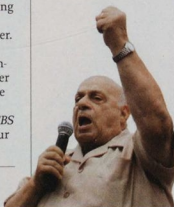
DIED

Rauf Denktash

in the chaos following Cyprus's independence from Britain in 1960, two men who once faced each other as young barristers battled for the soul of the small island in the eastern Mediterranean. Rauf Denktaş, who died Jan. 13 at 87, represented the 160,000 Turkish Cypriots—20% of the population. Though he could communicate in cordial letters with his old courtroom adversary, Greek Cypriot leader Glafkos Clerides, their friendship ended at the negotiating table. For 30 years Denktaş led a stubborn resistance to unification under the Greek majority. An Athens-backed coup took control in 1974; Turkey invaded, and in 1983 Turkish Cypriots established Northern Cyprus, which to this day is recognized only by Ankara. Denktaş served as President until 2004. Despite many unification efforts, the Turkish republic remains in political isolation.

—NATE RAWLINGS

—NATE RAWLINGS



DIED

Jan Groover

in the late 1970s, photography turned in on itself. When photographers pointed their cameras out to the world, now they were often looking to find something about pictures themselves. How do they operate in the mind? What are their stratagems? The work produced under the pressure of those questions we call post-modern. Jan Groover, who was 68 when she died Jan. 1, was one of the movement's slyest inquiring photographers. Her rich, silvery still lifes of utensils were both lush and cerebral, teasing the intellect through the senses. She was comfortable with beauty but never satisfied with that alone.

—RICHARD LACAYO

DIED

Charles Price II, 80,
who served as U.S.
ambassador to
Great Britain from
1983 to 1989,
smoothing relations
during the rule of
Prime Minister
Margaret Thatcher.

CLOSED

A legal loophole in Canada that tied the legality of foreigners' same-sex marriages to laws in their home countries; those unions are now lawful in Canada.

CELEBRATED

The 100th anniversary of clothing retailer



L.L. Bean; the company, based in Freeport, Maine, marked the centennial with a vehicular version of its famous hunting boot, which rolled through New York City on Jan. 18.

DIED

Reginald Hill, 75,
British author of 24
crime novels with
mismatched
detectives Andrew
Dalziel and Peter
Pascoe that
spawned a popular
BBC series.

DIED

Danny Evans, 76, creator of the \$2 billion restaurant chain Cracker Barrel; his 1991 attempt to bar gay employees set off boycotts that led him to back down.

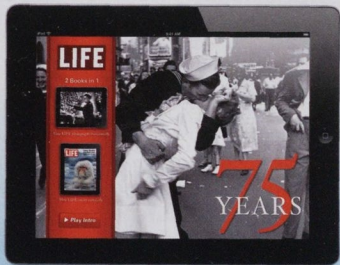
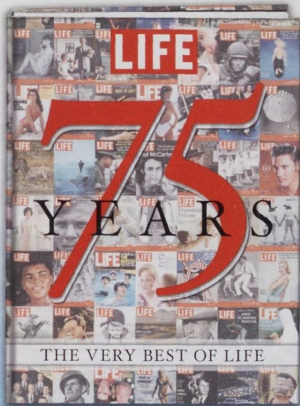
CELEBRATED

Muhammad Ali's 70th birthday, on Jan. 17.



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Mike Murphy



Can Mitt Move to the Middle?

How Ron Paul and a long primary season can help Romney woo independent voters

AS THE REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL contest enters its final stage, Mitt Romney faces an interesting choice: Does he chug along to the party's nomination, sticking with the same basic stump speech that has made him the presumptive nominee? Or does he use the next two months to better position himself for what will likely be a tough general election?

I would argue for the latter. Most polls show Romney leading in South Carolina and Florida, albeit with a more tenuous situation facing him in South Carolina. Should Romney win both states—or prevail only in superstate Florida—the media's many oddsmakers are likely to declare the primaries officially over. But several of the also-rans may ignore this and keep slogging, telling themselves a victory is still mathematically possible since the selection of the convention delegates who actually elect the party nominee moves at a far slower pace than the media whirlwind surrounding the first few contests.

And then there's the money. Each of the three other candidates, Rick Santorum, Ron Paul and Newt Gingrich, has a durable enough base—social conservatives for Santorum and Gingrich and goldbugs, libertarians and, well, oddballs, for Paul—to raise enough money on the Internet to keep a minimalist campaign puffing along. Will any of them be able to upset the Romney juggernaut and win the nomination? Unlikely.

But politicians are secret romantics, and the idea that a magic surge and upset are at least possible is a powerful lure. This is especially true for candidates who either have little to lose by staying in or just want to linger a little longer in the national spotlight as they

ponder their next book or wait for that radio-talk-show offer to appear.

I call this the Jerry Brown effect. In 1992, Brown kept running long after the Democratic primary race was over, picking up a few delegates here and there and generally driving Bill Clinton up the wall all the way to the convention that summer. The same thing could happen to Romney this year, and if it does, he might consider using those months to triangulate a bit and put



himself in a stronger position for the general election.

To the swing voters, who hold the real power this fall, Paul, Gingrich and Santorum all serve as effective foils for Romney. Each takes positions that are troubling, at best, to many of the independent voters who will ultimately choose the next President. By contrast, Romney is a grownup, and he could pick a few final intraparty fights to prove it.

For example, he could tell the truth about Paul's cartoonish budget proposals and his lunatic foreign policy. He could remind Santorum that a Romney presidency would focus first and foremost on creating good jobs and restoring national solvency. The battle to protect the un-

born would begin with respectful and gentle persuasion, he might add, as no pro-life legislation will ever become law without a far wider national consensus. And he could let Gingrich know that scorched-earth tactics and rhetoric may win the occasional election, but they also guarantee gridlock in Washington for four more years. Romney could say he is not running for President to call people names, bicker endlessly with lawmakers and get absolutely nothing done for the next four years. Independent voters would listen to that.

Doing this would also be risky business. Questioning any part of the conservative catechism will breathe new life into the also-rans' campaigns. The conservative movement's grand ayatullahs will howl "sellout" on AM radio and the Internet. For them, all elections are seen simply as a Republican primary. Triangulation is not the safe and quiet way to finish up the primaries, and my guess is the cautious Romney will not do it.

But is it worth losing the odd Minnesota caucus or Arizona primary to arrive in a stronger position for the general election? I would say yes. Despite Barack Obama's many political vulnerabilities, he will be no pushover for Romney and the Republicans. While Gingrich and Texas Governor Rick Perry have had little success trying to organize the anticapitalist wing of the GOP, Republicans know that the Bain Capital and class-warfare rhetoric will be far more potent in the working class trenches of the general-election battle than in the country clubs of the Republican primaries. Such slash-and-burn stuff is the sad stock-in-trade of the Democratic campaign machine. But at a time of unmistakable middle-class frustration with Wall Street, Romney will need every ace he can hide up his button-down sleeve to survive that onslaught, make the race about Obama again and achieve final victory. That's why a little spring triangulation could pay off big for him in November. ■

Murphy is a Republican political consultant

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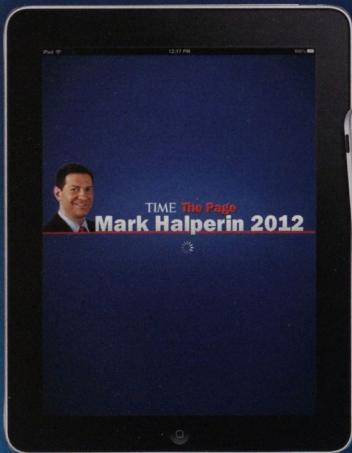
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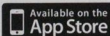
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Newt's Stamp-Out-Poverty Plan

If you strip away the racial appeals, the former Speaker's proposal has merit

THE ALREADY MYTHIC CONFRONTATION between Newt Gingrich and moderator Juan Williams at the Republican debate in Myrtle Beach, S.C., was the most riveting four minutes of the presidential campaign so far. "Can't you see that [your recent comments on the work ethic of poor people are] viewed, at a minimum, as insulting to all Americans but particularly to black Americans?" Williams asked. "No," Gingrich responded, with a snarky shrug. A surprisingly substantive discussion ensued. The former Speaker was accorded a standing ovation at the end, but Williams stood his ground and acquitted himself well. It was that rarest of arguments: both men were sort of right.

Williams was certainly right that Gingrich likes to send not-so-subliminal racial signals to the overwhelmingly white base of his party. Calling Barack Obama "the greatest food-stamp President in American history" is a pure dog whistle to the melanin-deprived. Food-stamp use does stand at historic levels, but that's a consequence of a fierce recession that Obama didn't cause. You could, in fact, argue that the recession was caused by the collapse of a housing bubble that had been inflated by Gingrich's deregulatory Congress (and exploited by Gingrich's former paymaster, Freddie Mac). By his own standards of invective, Gingrich could be called the "greatest subprime-mortgage politician in American history."

Williams and other liberal critics are on shakier ground when they point out that blacks represent a minority of those receiving antipoverty entitlement funds. African Americans, who are 12.6% of the population, represent a disproportionate percentage of the people receiving food stamps (22%) and temporary welfare

payments (34%) and attending Head Start programs (28%). The debate about why African Americans are disproportionately dependent has a long and gory history. It certainly involves institutionalized racism, but it also has a strong component of personal behavior—a culture of poverty and family breakdown—that has been an unintended consequence of government beneficence.

Indeed, the Brookings Institution study that Rick Santorum continually cites is pretty conclusive about the behav-



ioral causes of poverty. The study found that if you do three things—graduate from high school, don't have children until you're married, and work—your chances of winding up poor are 2%. But those results apply to all races. Whites and Hispanics have been rapidly falling into the same patterns as blacks in those areas, says Ron Haskins, a co-author of the study. The out-of-wedlock birthrate has more than doubled in the past 30 years, from 18% to 41%, with almost all the increase coming from whites and Hispanics. (The black out-of-wedlock birthrate remains a staggeringly dreadful 70%.)

When you strip away the racial appeals, though, Gingrich proposes some very creative ways to address poverty and dependency. At the heart of his theory is a concept that was embraced by Clintonian Democrats in the 1990s—reciprocal responsibility. You can receive welfare benefits, but only on a temporary basis and if you're looking for work. You can get income support and food stamps if you're already working, but only if your wages put you below poverty level. You can get a college scholarship if you perform two years of national service. Hence Gingrich's excellent proposal that those receiving unemployment insurance should be required to find a job-training program (or, I would add, attend a community college and get a degree in some upgraded technical skill). Hence Gingrich's idea that poor kids be paid to do light janitorial work in their schools.

And yes, as Newt suggested, that last idea did come from me—although I put a slightly different twist on it.

I first made the suggestion in 1991, after the New York City janitors negotiated a gaudy contract that required them to mop the cafeteria floor only once a week.

I proposed that the city hire private contractors to do heavy work like boiler maintenance and have students and their parents help keep the schools clean. But not just poor students—all students, even those attending the city's elite high schools. It was a form of public service, intended to build a sense of responsibility and community in students of every income level.

I still think it's a pretty good idea. It may be even more compelling now, given the rising cost of government and decline in creative citizenship. Maybe all of us should start our adult lives working for a few years—not volunteering but getting paid at apprentice levels—for the government in some limited capacity. Maybe we'd have a stronger society if we spent less money paying other people to provide public services and spent more time providing them ourselves. ■

NATION

One indispensable nation
*Obama with King Abdullah II
of Jordan at the White House
on Jan. 17*

THE STR





ATEGIST

The question isn't whether Barack Obama has been a good foreign policy President. It's whether he can be a great one

By Fareed Zakaria

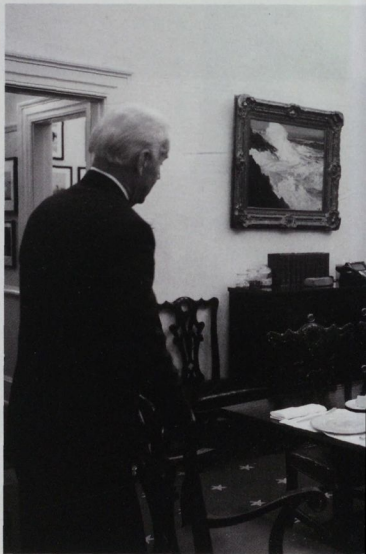
Photographs by Christopher Morris for TIME

IN THE MARATHON THAT IS THE REPUBLICAN PRIMARY campaign, candidates have tried for months to trip one another up on everything from capitalism to family values in a seemingly unending series of debates. But foreign policy is the one topic that doesn't come up much. This is unusual. In the decades after Vietnam, Republicans never missed an opportunity to talk about global dangers—or pound their Democratic adversaries for being weak-kneed appeasers. These days, however, you could listen for hours to Republicans and hear only an occasional, narrow attack on Barack Obama's handling of American foreign policy.

The main reason, of course, is that the economy is dominating the national conversation. But that isn't the only reason. If Republicans saw opportunities to lash Obama on foreign policy, they would not hold back. In 1980 the economy was miserable, and yet both the primary and general elections were consumed with attacks on Jimmy Carter's policies toward the Soviet Union, Iran and other countries. The reality is that, despite domestic challenges and limited resources, President Obama has pursued an effective foreign policy. In fact, over the past year, Obama's policies have come together in a particularly successful manner. In an *op ed* published on Jan. 9 in the *Financial Times*, Philip Zelikow, a longtime top aide to Condoleezza Rice and one of the brightest Republican policy scholars, described the past year as "the most important in American foreign policy in a decade ... The cumulative boost of American energy and commitment is palpable."

Of course, that is not what the Republican candidates say when they speak on the topic. Mitt Romney, who as the putative front runner has attacked Obama more than all his rivals, charges that Obama is an appeaser who apologizes for America, lacks fortitude and is "tentative, indecisive, timid and nuanced." This generic and somewhat vague critique follows the familiar Republican narrative, but it's unlikely to stick, especially with general-election voters. Even before the torrent of drone attacks that crippled al-Qaeda, even before the killing of Osama bin Laden, even before Libya, most Americans gave Obama positive marks for his handling of foreign policy. (His approval rating is currently at 52%.) Republicans have made specific charges in a few areas—Israel and Iran—mostly in the hope that they can cement support in one key constituency (Evangelicals) and woo another (Jewish Americans), but even there, the polls suggest that most Americans are content with Obama's approach.

Foreign policy is not a popularity contest, but it is historically significant that the Republican Party, which since the Nixon era has enjoyed a clear advantage on foreign policy issues, will enter the 2012 race without any such boost. That may be partly because of the failures of George W. Bush, but it is also because Obama has handled the terrain deftly. And he has done so with a team not of rivals but of heavyweights who could have been difficult to manage. Among the President's core foreign policy advisers for most of his first three years were two people he ran against in the 2008 primary campaign (Hillary Clinton and Joe Biden), a Defense chief inherited from his Republican predecessor (Robert Gates) and a general who is reported to have disagreed with him on Iraq and Afghanistan (David Petraeus).



That they mostly agree on broad policy helps, but it is still a team that has worked well together, in some measure because of the understated but highly effective National Security Adviser, Thomas Donilon.

Columnist Walter Lippmann once wrote that "foreign policy consists in bringing into balance, with a comfortable surplus of power in reserve, the nation's commitments and the nation's power." From 2001, the U.S. went through a decade of massive foreign commitments and interventions, which proved enormously expensive in blood and treasure—and highly unpopular around the world. This overextension was followed by an economic crisis that drained American power. The result was a foreign policy that was insolvent. Obama came into office determined to pare down excess commitments, regain goodwill and refocus the U.S. on core missions to achieve a more stable and sustainable global position.



The Big Two Obama and Vice President Joe Biden sit down for lunch in the President's private dining room

Obama can take credit for having achieved much along these lines. But to leave a more lasting legacy than one of focus, effectiveness and good public diplomacy, he will need to build on his successes and conceive and implement a set of policies that promote a vision of a better world—more stable, more open and more free. Good foreign policy Presidents (like Dwight Eisenhower and George H.W. Bush) managed a complex set of challenges expertly, making few costly errors. Bad ones (like George W. Bush and Lyndon Johnson) made mistakes that cost America in lives, treasure and prestige. But great foreign policy Presidents (like Harry Truman) created enduring structures and relationships that produced lasting peace and prosperity. Obama has been a good foreign policy President; he has the opportunity to become a great one.

The Obama Doctrine

CANDIDATES ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL USUALLY SAY ABOUT foreign policy what seems politically advantageous, only to discover that they don't actually believe any of it once in office. George W. Bush's only foreign policy statements of note during his campaign were to criticize American arrogance and nation-building. Once he became President, however, as events presented themselves, he realized that he actually liked speaking about America as a nation chosen by God and history to lead the world. And he launched the most extensive nation-building project in U.S. history since Vietnam. Mitt Romney's statements on, say, the Taliban and Iran tell us nothing more than that he has found a place to outflank Obama.

The President, on the other hand, came into office with a set of beliefs about the world that he has tried to act upon. Chief among them is that over the past decade, the U.S. has wasted its power and prestige on an intervention in Iraq that he believed was an expensive mistake and a major distraction. In office, Obama stuck to his view despite pressure to do otherwise, and in a disciplined manner, he drew down American forces in Iraq, from 142,000 when he took office to zero as of a few weeks ago. When I asked Obama on the campaign trail in 2008 which President's foreign policy he admired, he immediately chose George H.W. Bush, a President known as a foreign policy realist, whose watchwords were prudence, cost effectiveness, diplomacy and restraint. James Baker, Bush's Secretary of State, has admitted to approving of Obama's approach to international relations.

In contrast with his policy on Iraq, Obama argued for a buildup of forces in Afghanistan. But even there, he sought to end the more expansive aspects of the mission, focusing the fight on counterterrorism against al-Qaeda and similar groups, whether in Afghanistan, Pakistan or Yemen. The alternative, a war of counterinsurgency in Afghanistan, could easily morph into an open-ended nation-building project in one of the poorest countries in the world. Several Administration officials privately confirm that from the start Obama wanted to pare down the mission in Afghanistan to a fight against terrorist groups. He either was outmaneuvered by the military or decided to accept its advice for a surge. In the end, he acceded to an 18-month buildup to hammer the Taliban into negotiations and announced last June that the U.S. would begin drawing down 10,000 troops in Afghanistan by the end of 2011 and an additional 23,000 by the

end of the summer of 2012, leaving 68,000 troops in the country. Meanwhile, he embraced counterterrorism with ferocity, dramatically expanding the campaign of special operations and drone attacks that have since killed most of al-Qaeda's senior leaders—almost all of whom lived in Pakistan. The crowning success of this strategy was the raid on Osama bin Laden's compound in Pakistan and his assassination. (Of course, as with all successful counterterrorism, the strategy seems foolproof in retrospect. Had these various missions failed, had many American soldiers died, those tactics would have been called dangerous and foolhardy.) In the central battle in the war on terrorism, Obama adopted many of the Bush Administration's aggressive tactics, used them more aggressively and achieved greater success. Republicans find it difficult to attack Obama credibly on the core issue of fighting America's enemies because he outflanked them on the right.

When asked to describe the Obama Doctrine, the President has chosen not to respond directly, but he explained that he believes the U.S. must act with other countries. "[Mine is] an American leadership that recognizes the rise of countries like China, India and Brazil. It's a U.S. leadership that recognizes our limits in terms of resources and capacity," he told TIME. That multilateral approach—listening to others, being aware of their national pride and interests and ego—is surely a product of his worldly background, with a Kenyan father, an Indonesian stepfather and a mother who was a serious student of global development. It has shown results. Obama told other countries to step up during the Libyan crisis if they expected American help. This was caricatured by some as "leading from behind," but really it forced others to act on an issue that the U.S. did not see as central to its national security. If France and Britain saw Libya as vital, he implied, they needed to put their money and militaries where their mouths were. In Asia, Obama let countries ask for American involvement rather than rushing forward to propose it. Countries are more willing to accept American leadership if Washington is patient enough to let them request it.

In an area that he does deem vital, Obama has shown himself willing to be extremely tough. Having tried to negotiate with the Iranians and been spurned by them, the Administration intensified the pressure on Tehran. It has ratcheted up sanctions, stepped up cooperation with the Israeli government and the Gulf Arab states and put in place even more crippling sanctions to pile up the costs on Iran. None of this would have been possible without significant multilateral diplomacy. The Chinese and Russians signed on to new sanctions at the U.N. (which ensures that they get enforced worldwide). Washington's European and East Asian allies have gone further in cutting off economic ties with Iran. Observing the results, Israel's Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, perhaps the world's leading hawk on Iran—and no fan of the President—admitted on Jan. 14 that the pressure was having an effect, that Iran was "wobbling" and that this kind of tough containment might actually work.

A great deal of foreign policy is crisis management. "Stuff happens," the President said, "and you have to respond." Iran's Green movement and the Arab Spring were challenging and unexpected events, and the Obama Administration made a strategic distinction between the two. On Iran, while offering the-

torical support, the White House seemed to have concluded that the regime would be able to suppress the Green movement—which turned out to be an accurate diagnosis. In the cases of Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, the Administration concluded that the democracy protests had become unstoppable and the regimes were doomed. It took Ronald Reagan two years from the beginning of the democracy protests in the Philippines to break with Ferdinand Marcos. In 1997 when protests began in Indonesia, it took Bill Clinton a year to urge President Suharto to resign. In 2011 it took Obama two weeks to urge Hosni Mubarak to leave office. By placing the U.S. on the right side of a historical wave, Obama took it out of the Egyptian political debate. Egyptians know they will succeed or fail at their democratic experiment because of themselves and not Washington. In a Middle East that believes that America conspires and controls all, that's a step forward.

There have been misses. Whatever your view of the Israeli-Palestinian problem, it is difficult to see Obama's approach as a success. The fundamental issue there remains that neither party is inclined toward or capable of making peace right now. Israel is ruled by a right-wing coalition that would collapse if it tried for peace and a Prime Minister who most certainly does not want to. Palestine is divided between two groups, one of which explicitly rejects peace with Israel. In this context, to put American prestige on the line in the hope that a few words or nudges would transform the situation seems naive. It would have been better to have continued with what appeared to be Obama's initial strategy: appoint a special envoy so the world knows that Washington wants a deal—but commit no presidential capital in a situation that seemed destined for stagnation.

One could add others. Relations with Iran could explode as pressure builds (and oil prices rise) without any discernible diplomatic path toward a nuclear deal. The current policy assumes that Iran will capitulate or that, having described the situation in dire terms, the Obama Administration would take even more dramatic steps, perhaps including a military attack on the country. Neither scenario appears likely, and neither side seems to be working to construct a third.

The Asian Opportunity

CRISIS MANAGEMENT, EFFECTIVE OR INEFFECTIVE, IS NOT STRATEGY. Obama has been determined to draw down America's military interventions and limit its commitments in places like Iraq and even Afghanistan so that he could focus U.S. foreign policy on America's core interests. These he has defined as its dealings with the great powers and its embrace of larger global issues. He has reset relations with Russia, built on the growing ties with India, established a close working relationship with Turkey and maintained the historical connections with European allies. But the biggest upgrade in U.S. relations has been in Asia. The strategy of "rebalancing" might well be the centerpiece of Obama's foreign policy and what historians will point to when searching for an Obama Doctrine. It is premised on a simple, powerful recognition. The center of global economic power is shifting east. In 10 years, three of the world's five largest economies will be in Asia: China, Japan and India. The greatest political tensions and struggles might also be in Asia as these countries seek political,

Obama's Volatile World. The promise and peril in 2012

1. Iran

BEST CASE

Tehran complies with demands to freeze its nuclear program and allows full access to international inspectors

WORST CASE

Stung by tighter economic sanctions, Iran confronts U.S. warships in the Persian Gulf, starting a full-blown war

2. Afghanistan

BEST CASE

The Taliban and Afghan President Hamid Karzai come to a peaceful power-sharing agreement

WORST CASE

A bloody civil war drags in Pakistan and potentially keeps U.S. troops in the region for decades to come

3. Pakistan

BEST CASE

Icy relations with military leaders thaw, allowing increased U.S. drone strikes and Pakistani support for Afghan peace talks

WORST CASE

A coup by pro-Taliban military leaders undermines a U.S. troop exit from Afghanistan and threatens nuclear security in Pakistan

U.S. and territories
1.2 million

At sea
101,000

4
Europe
81,000

5
Former Soviet states
160

2
North Africa, Near East and South Asia
6,000

6
East Asia and Pacific
56,000

Western hemisphere
2,000

Sub-Saharan Africa
654

WHERE U.S. TROOPS ARE

U.S. active-duty military personnel



4. Euro Zone

BEST CASE

Europe accepts tighter fiscal union, avoids a deep recession and survives painful austerity measures that balance budgets

WORST CASE

The euro currency union fragments, freezing credit markets worldwide and unleashing a new global recession

5. Iraq

BEST CASE

The nascent democracy finds its legs and stabilizes, becoming an economic and political anchor for the Middle East

WORST CASE

The country plunges into a civil war, thereby confirming Republican concerns that Obama pulled out U.S. troops too soon

6. North Korea

BEST CASE

The new Supreme Leader, 20-something Kim Jong Un, turns out to be a reformer who opens up his country

WORST CASE

The new Kim consolidates power, accelerates his nuclear program and provokes war with South Korea

Troop-level numbers are through Sept. 30, 2011, for Iraq, as of Jan. 18, 2012
Source: Department of Defense

cultural and military power as well. If the U.S. is going to be the central global power, it will need to be a Pacific power.

In a speech to the Australian parliament, Obama signaled America's intent. "The United States is a Pacific power, and we are here to stay," he said. The President promised that despite serious defense cuts that would affect all aspects of the military, there would be no cuts in Asia. Over the past year, the Administration launched a series of diplomatic efforts that culminated at year's end with a flurry of initiatives. The U.S. will establish a military base (of sorts) in Australia, expanding its reach in the Pacific. It has launched a transpacific trade accord, which, if negotiated, would be the largest trade deal since NAFTA. It re-established ties with Burma, thus gaining influence with a pivotal country that borders China and India. And it partnered with other Asian countries at the East Asian summit to limit Chinese influence and claims on the South China Sea.

The pivot to Asia has been highly effective, taking advantage of China's belligerence. But the Administration must now work to build an affirmative vision of an Asia that is not banded together against China but rather is open, diverse and plural. The real challenge is to convince China that it benefits from the stability, rules and prosperity that such a vision would produce (just as Germany benefited from a peaceful and prosperous Europe with it at the center) and to persuade the Chinese that they are better off with such an Asia than one characterized by geopolitical competition. So far, Washington's relations with China have not reached the level of serious strategic dialogue that will be necessary to achieve any true global cooperation in the years ahead. Going forward, U.S. security and prosperity depends on a productive relationship with China more than with any other country.

The challenge with China is the challenge with other great powers—and with Obama's foreign policy in general. It is worthwhile to have good relations with countries. But it is crucial to have good relations in the service of a broader vision of a world that is characterized by increasing levels of openness, economic interdependence, international cooperation, peace, prosperity and liberty. Over the past 60 years, the U.S. has helped build an international order characterized by institutions, policies, norms and best practices. The hundreds of organizations that help coordinate countries' policies on everything from trade to disease prevention to environmental protection are all new creatures in international life, and they have created a world of greater peace and prosperity than humans have even known. But this world needs shoring up as new nations rise to power. The challenge for the U.S. is to make a stable structure for the world that all the newly emerging powers can buy into and uphold. That means revitalizing global trade, pushing through on a nuclear-nonproliferation agenda, working to integrate the emerging powers and, perhaps crucially, articulating a vision of this world.

Henry Kissinger once said that the test for a statesman was to find the place between stagnation and overextension. Good tactics alone would leave you reacting to events and stagnant in the stream of history. Too vast a vision would leave you overextended, exhausted and inviting adversaries. Barack Obama is already pointed in the right direction on foreign policy. The challenge for him is to find the sweet spot. ■

'I Made a Commitment to Change the Trajectory Of American Foreign Policy'

President Obama spoke to TIME's Fareed Zakaria in the Oval Office on Jan. 18. Excerpts:

When we talked when you were campaigning for the presidency, I asked you which Administration's foreign policy you admired. And you said that you looked at George H.W. Bush's diplomacy. Now that you are President, how has your thinking evolved?

It is true that I've been complimentary of George H.W. Bush's foreign policy, and I continue to believe that he managed a very difficult period very effectively. Now that I've been in office for three years, I think that—I'm always cautious about comparing what we've done to what others have done, just because each period is unique, each set of challenges is unique. But what I can say is that I made a commitment to change the trajectory of American foreign policy in a way that would end the war in Iraq, refocus on defeating our primary enemy, al-Qaeda, strengthen our alliances and our leadership in multilateral fora and restore American leadership in the world. And I think we have accomplished those principal goals. It's an American leadership that recognizes the rise of countries like China, India and Brazil. It's a U.S. leader-

ship that recognizes our limits in terms of resources and capacity. And yet what I think we've been able to establish is a clear belief among other nations that the United States continues to be the one indispensable nation in tackling major international problems. We still have huge challenges ahead, and one thing I've learned over the last three years is that as much as you'd like to guide events, stuff happens. And you have to respond, and those responses, no matter how effective your diplomacy or your foreign policy, are sometimes going to produce less-than-optimal results. But our overall trajectory, our overall strategy, has been very successful.

Mitt Romney says you are timid, indecisive and nuanced.

I think Mr. Romney and the rest of the Republican field are going to be playing to their base until the primary season is over. Once it is, we'll have a serious debate about foreign policy. I will feel very confident about being able to put my record before the American people and saying that America is safer, stronger and better-positioned to win



No posturing Obama said Washington's "political circus" rarely affects foreign policy

the future than it was when I came into office. And there are going to be some issues where people may have some legitimate differences, and there are going to be some serious debates, just because they're hard issues. But overall, I think it's going to be pretty hard to argue that we have not executed a strategy over the last three years that has put America in a stronger position than it was when I came into office.

With all this pressure that you have been able to put on Iran—and the economic pressure—suppose the consequence is that the price of oil keeps rising but Iran does not make any significant concessions. Won't it be fair to say that the policy will have failed?

It is fair to say that this isn't an easy problem. And anybody who claims otherwise doesn't know what they're talking about. Obviously Iran sits in a volatile region during a volatile period of time. Their own internal conflicts make it that much more difficult, I think, for them to make big strategic decisions. Having said that, our goal consistently has been to combine pressure with an opportunity for them to make good decisions and to mobilize the international community to maximize that pressure. Can we guarantee that Iran takes the smarter path? No, which is why I've repeatedly said we don't take any options off the table in preventing them from getting a nuclear weapon.

When you look at Afghanistan over the past three years—the policies you've adopted—would it be fair to say that the counterterrorism part of the policy, the killing of bad

guys, has been a lot more successful than the counter-insurgency, the stabilizing of vast aspects of the country?

What is fair to say is that the counterterrorism strategy as applied to al-Qaeda has been extremely successful. The job's not finished, but there's no doubt that we have severely degraded al-Qaeda's capacity. When it comes to stabilizing Afghanistan, that was always going to be a more difficult and messy task, because it's not just military—it's economic, it's political, it's dealing with the capacity of an Afghan government that doesn't have a history of projecting itself into all parts of the country, tribal and ethnic conflicts that date back centuries... I never believed that America could essentially deliver peace and prosperity to all of Afghanistan in a three-, four-, five-year time frame. And I think anybody who believed that didn't know the history and the challenges facing Afghanistan, because they're the third poorest country in the world, with one of the lowest literacy rates and no significant history of a strong civil service or an economy that was deeply integrated with the world economy. It's going to take decades for Afghanistan to fully achieve its potential.

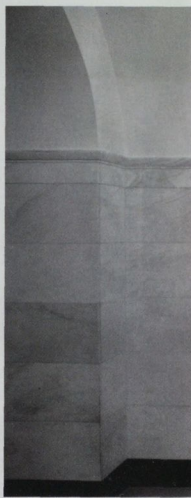
As the Chinese watched your most recent diplomacy in Asia, is it fair for them to conclude, as many Chinese scholars have, that the United States is building a containment policy against China? No, I think that would not be accurate, and I've specifically rejected that formulation. We've sent a clear signal that we are a Pacific power, that we will continue to be a Pacific power. But we've done this all

in the context of a belief that a peacefully rising China is good for everybody. The only thing we've insisted on, as a principle in that region, is, everybody's got to play by the same set of rules. That's not unique to China. That's true for all of us.

You have developed a reputation for managing your foreign policy team very effectively, without dissension. So how come you can manage this fairly complex process so well, and relations with Congress are not so good?

When I'm working with my foreign policy team, there's just not a lot of extraneous noise. There's not a lot of posturing and positioning and "How's this going to play on cable news?" and "Can we score some points here?" That whole political circus that has come to dominate so much of Washington applies less to the foreign policy arena, which is why I could forge such an effective working relationship and friendship with Bob Gates, who comes out of that tradition, even though I'm sure he would've considered himself a pretty conservative, hawkish Republican. At least that was where he was coming out of. I never asked him what his current party affiliation was, because it didn't matter. I just knew he was going to give me good advice.

But have you been able to forge similar relationships with foreign leaders? Because one of the criticisms people make about your style of diplomacy is that it's very cool, it's aloof, that you don't pal around with these guys. I wasn't in other Administrations, so I didn't see the interactions between U.S.



Presidents and various world leaders. But the friendships and the bonds of trust that I've been able to forge with a whole range of leaders is precisely, or is a big part of, what has allowed us to execute effective diplomacy. I think that if you ask them, Angela Merkel or Prime Minister Singh or President Lee or Prime Minister Erdogan or David Cameron would say, We have a lot of trust and confidence in the President. We believe what he says. We believe that he'll follow through on his commitments... That's part of the reason we've been able



to forge these close working relationships and gotten a whole bunch of stuff done.

You just can't do it with John Boehner.

You know, the truth is, actually, when it comes to Congress, the issue is not personal relationships. My suspicion is that this whole critique has to do with the fact that I don't go to a lot of Washington parties. And as a consequence, the Washington press corps maybe just doesn't feel like I'm in the mix enough with them, and they figure, well, if I'm not spending time with them, I must be cold and aloof. The

fact is, I've got a 13-year-old and 10-year-old daughter, and so, no, Michelle and I don't do the social scene, because as busy as we are, we have a limited amount of time, and we want to be good parents at a time that's vitally important for our kids. In terms of Congress, the reason we're not getting enough done right now is you've got a Congress that is deeply ideological and sees a political advantage in not getting stuff done. John Boehner and I get along fine. We had a great time playing golf together. That's not the issue. The problem was that no matter how much

Homebodies

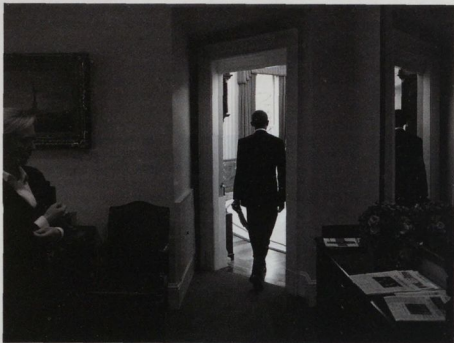
Obama dismisses complaints that he is aloof, noting that he and Michelle prefer to spend time with their daughters, ages 13 and 10

golf we played or no matter how much we yucked it up, he had trouble getting his caucus to go along with doing the responsible thing on a whole bunch of issues over the past year.

You talked a lot about how foreign policy ultimately has to derive from American strength, and so when I talk to businessmen, a lot of them are dismayed that you have not signaled to the world and to markets that the U.S. will get its fiscal house in order by embracing your deficit commission, the Simpson-Bowles. And that walking away from that, which is a phrase I've heard a lot, has been a very bad signal to the world. Why won't you embrace Simpson-Bowles?

First of all, I did embrace Simpson-Bowles. I'm the one who created the commission. If I hadn't pushed it, it wouldn't have happened, because congressional sponsors, including a whole bunch of Republicans, walked away from it... Now, to your larger point, you're absolutely right. Our whole foreign policy has to be anchored in economic strength here at home. And if we are not strong, stable, growing, making stuff, training our workforce so that it's the most skilled in the world, maintaining our lead in innovation, in basic research, in basic science, in the quality of our universities, in the transparency of our financial sector, if we don't maintain the upward mobility and equality of opportunity that underwrites our political stability and makes us a beacon for the world, then our foreign policy leadership will diminish as well. ■

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NATION | WHITE HOUSE MEMO

Campaign Numerology

History suggests that Obama is running out of time to turn the economy around

BY MICHAEL SCHERER

FOR A MAN WHO MADE HIS FORTUNE by out-thinking and outworking the corporate competition, Mitt Romney appears remarkably relaxed. "It's a bit like a teenager," he told reporters recently when asked about the campaign. "There are things you can do to improve the odds of a teenager making it through those teen years and being a productive adult. But it's not entirely in your control." The reason for this Zen-like calm runs right to the heart of the Republican front runner's strategy to defeat President Obama: in a year like this, Romney's team expects the candidates to matter much less than the conditions they face.

In strategy brainstormers over the past two years, Romney and his senior aides concluded that the biggest factor in the 2012 general-election campaign—the third man in the race, in a way—would be the languishing national economy. They designed a campaign message that would highlight the grim realities, following a standard theory that Stuart Stevens, Romney's top strategist, has long pushed:

"Who won and lost," Stevens argued, "was usually determined less by the individual candidates, their personalities or positions, but by what we call in politics the right track/wrong track environment."

When things are going well—think Ronald Reagan in 1984, Bill Clinton in 1996—incumbents tend to win re-election. When things are not—Jimmy Carter in 1980, George H.W. Bush in 1992—they tend to lose. And the numbers for Obama have been dismal for much of the past year, a fact Obama has readily admitted. Asked in October if he was the underdog in 2012, the President did not hesitate. "Absolutely," he told ABC News, "given the economy."

The President now finds himself in a race against time, hoping economic conditions improve quickly enough for voters to take notice. A forthcoming book, *The Timeline of Presidential Elections*, by political scientists Christopher Wlezien and Robert Erikson, finds that over the past 15 presidential campaigns, economic performance in April of an election year was almost as good a predictor of the vote outcome as the

Seeing the light

Obama hopes that improving economic indicators will boost his re-election chances

economic performance in November, and far better at predicting the outcome than early head-to-head polling.

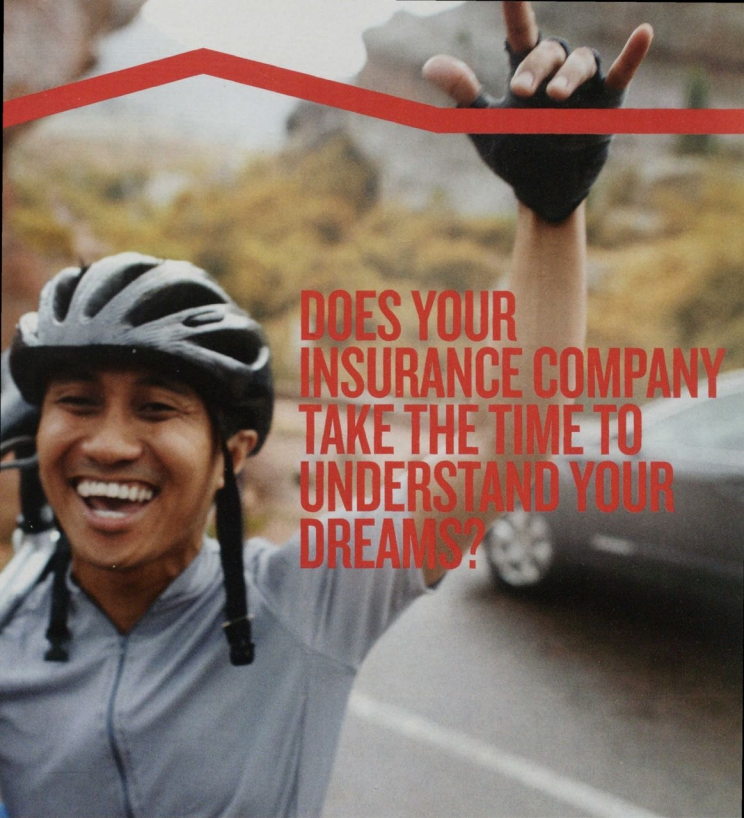
As they stand, the indicators have been largely poor for Obama. Consumer confidence remained sharply negative much of last year, worse than the 1991 malaise that sank Bush, who was turned out of office in 1992 despite an economic surge earlier that year. Satisfaction with the direction of the country, as measured by Gallup, was at 14% last fall, lower than the 19% Carter endured at the end of 1979. Obama's approval rating, meanwhile, has hovered in the mid-40s, below postwar incumbents who won re-election, including the 48% level that George W. Bush carried into Election Day in 2004.

But the most important single number is real economic growth.

For more than two decades, economist Douglas Hibbs Jr. has used a simple formula to predict the outcomes of presidential elections. He calculates the cumulative, per capita, real income growth of Americans, giving more weight to each subsequent quarter of an incumbent party's time in the White House. With slight adjustments to account for public dislike of war casualties, his formula has worked to predict each election result since 1952, with the exception of 1996 and 2000, within 2.5 points. When he ran the numbers last October, he found that Obama was heading for a huge defeat, with a popular-vote share of 44.1%.

That number is by no means set in stone, but Hibbs estimates that income growth needs to approach 4% this year to give Obama a comfortable chance at re-election. That's a tall order.

Of course, the economic environment is not the only factor that matters. Wlezien and Erikson find that the rate of income growth explains about 54% of the difference in election results from year to year. But while the Obama campaign focuses on the other 46%, Romney has, for the moment, allowed himself a bit of mid-campaign peace. As a man who made millions stressing over spreadsheets, he can spot when the numbers are on his side. ■



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WORLD

Fed up
*Alexei Navalny in
front of the Cathedral
of Christ the Redeemer
in Moscow*



Photographs by Yuri Kozirev for TIME

Can This Man Save Russia?

Anger over Putin's autocracy has sent thousands of protesters into Russia's streets—and a crusading blogger is at the forefront

BY SIMON SHUSTER/MOSCOW



ALEXEI NAVALNY HAS NOT YET gotten used to people calling him Russia's next President. It's been happening to the blogger a lot lately—at protests, in restaurants, on the street. When he hears it, he forces out a smile that looks more like a wince. Driving through traffic after it happened again in late December, this time at a courthouse, he tried to dissociate himself from what he calls the Navalny cult of personality. "People hate politicians," he says. "And I can understand why." Outside the window, the street was snarled by a convoy of black Mercedes blaring their sirens as they ferried Russia's real politicians through Moscow. "I'm only sort of a politician," Navalny says.

He's not even running for President, despite the clamor around him. Navalny, 35, has never held office and does not belong to any political party. He is not rich, famous or well connected. He does not appear on Russia's main TV channels and lacks the kind of polish one expects from a politician. But he rules an entity that has only begun to discover its power—Russia's political blogosphere—and has about 1.5 million readers of his own each month. The power he's inspired was in evidence when Navalny was arrested in early December after protesting election results. "The jail was full of corporate executives from various fields—IT, retail, you name it," says Andrei Oryol, a film producer, who was Navalny's cellmate. Only a couple of them had ever attended a protest, but they followed Navalny online—and then they followed him into jail. In early January, Boris Akunin, one of Russia's most popular and acclaimed novelists, described Navalny as "the only relevant politician in Russia today."

So far, Navalny has been able to unite an opposition that ranges from tree-hugging liberals to vitriol-spouting nationalists. A lawyer by training, he almost never wears a suit, not even in court, and often slips into the kind of slang you would expect from a frat boy. "Comparing pricks," he likes to say, is what candidates do in elections. If Russia's opposition movement gains momentum, Navalny may be compelled to run against Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, Russia's paramount leader.

The anti-Putin movement, which some of its organizers have perhaps too brazenly begun to call a revolution, held Navalny up as its leader during the uncanny wave of demonstrations that swept through Russia last month. The protests were sparked by the parliamentary elections of Dec. 4, when Putin's United Russia party was accused of rigging more than 10 million votes in order to hold on to its majority.



The day after the ballot, about 7,000 people took to the streets of Moscow to demand a revote, chanting "Out with the party of crooks and thieves"—Navalny's viral nickname for United Russia. From the stage, Navalny screamed into the microphone, "I'll chew through the throats of those animals!" referring to United Russia. He was arrested afterward when he tried to lead a column of protesters in the direction of the Kremlin and was sentenced to 15 days for disobeying orders to desist.

If this was an attempt to silence him, it backfired. Navalny became a cause célèbre. Supporters held vigils outside the jailhouse and sent him care packages, including 15 lb. of chocolate. Within a week, the protests spread to more than 70 Russian cities, and on Dec. 10 the opposition pulled off another record-breaking rally, with more than 50,000 people gathering in Moscow. Putin was derisive. During a live call-in show on Dec. 15, he said the symbol of the protest movement—a white ribbon—looked like a "dangling condom" and likened the protesters to Bandar logs, the unruly monkeys from Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book*.

After Navalny was released and took over the protest-organizing committee, the

opposition staged the biggest demonstration since the fall of the Soviet Union. More than 100,000 people gathered on Moscow's Sakharov Avenue to call for democratic reform. Every stratum of Russian society was represented, most of all the young, educated middle class. The sight of a sea of protesters that day waving hand-drawn signs and chanting "Russia without Putin!" made it hard not to wonder, Where had they been all this time?

Since at least 2004, when Putin began his second term as President, there has been no secret about the patronage system he has built. Gubernatorial elections were canceled that year to allow the Kremlin to handpick regional leaders. Election laws were changed to make way for what amounted to a one-party state. Political competition became extinct, and no one was all that surprised when Putin announced in September that he would return to the presidency in March for at least another six years and possibly another 12. So why only after the disputed vote held on Dec. 4 have Russia's citizens ceased to be a silent, apathetic mass?

Navalny calls it the "76–82 effect," referring to the Russians who, like him, were



Putin's biggest headache Navalny addressed perhaps 100,000 protesters on Dec. 24

Internet access; 55 million of them were actively surfing the Web, often to look for news and analyses free of the propaganda shown on state-controlled TV. Russia's favored blogging site, LiveJournal, has emerged as the only truly free and democratic medium for political discourse in the country, with about 30 million readers a month. Through his online campaigns against corruption, Navalny became an Internet folk hero.

In November 2010 he posted evidence on his blog of a \$4 billion embezzlement scheme at a state corporation, causing a sensation in the Russian and international press. A month later, he launched his most famous website, RosPil, which changed the face of online activism. It allowed readers to dissect government tenders—like orders for a fleet of cars or diamond-encrusted wristwatches—for signs of corruption or embezzlement. In just over a year, the site's lawyers and volunteers found irregularities in state contracts worth about \$1.3 billion, according to RosPil's tally. Many of those tenders have since been annulled.

Like most of Navalny's campaigns, RosPil stood out for its pragmatism. Instead of the polemics and pamphleteering that preoccupy most of Russia's old-school opposition groups, Navalny focuses on specific issues, such as corruption and potholes, and invites his fans to help redress them with the crowdsourcing power of the Internet. Early last year, when he put out a call for donations to hire lawyers for RosPil, he raised \$230,000 in two months, with the average donation being less than \$10. "Masses of people were basically hiring me as a sheriff to do the oversight work the government was failing to do," Navalny says.

With their donations, Navalny's online supporters took that step from idle blogging to political action, and that is when Russia's security services began to take notice. In the spring of 2011, Yandex.Dengi, the Russian equivalent of PayPal, received a request from the FSB, the main successor to the Soviet KGB, to hand over the personal details of everyone who transferred money to Navalny's website. Yandex complied, and the people on that list soon began getting phone calls demanding to know why they supported Navalny. But the harassment backfired. Donations began pouring in many times faster. Official attempts to get dirt on Navalny uncovered little except that his parents' grocery store sold vodka after legal hours.

His main vulnerability has been his

strident nationalism, which has always been at the core of his views. In 2007 he cofounded the National Russian Liberation Movement, known as NAROD, and published its manifesto on his blog. It focused mostly on immigration policy, declaring that "those who come into our home but do not want to respect our law and traditions must be kicked out." It also called for all law-abiding citizens to have the right to bear arms. Navalny owns several, and in 2007, when a group of thugs broke up a political debate he was hosting, he shot one of them four times with a traumatic pistol, a nonlethal weapon that fires rubber bullets. After a lengthy investigation, all charges against him were dropped.

But the incident fueled fears that he is a right-wing fanatic, and after the December demonstrations, slick cartoons started circulating online depicting Navalny throwing the Nazi salute and wearing a T-shirt that reads I'M A FASCIST. Navalny laughs this off as ignorant fearmongering. "People aren't really afraid of my views," he says. "They are just afraid of the word *nationalism*," which they associate with some "abstract nationalist menace." But his oratory style has not done much to change this. During both of the protests he addressed last month, his speeches dissolved into frenzied screaming, which spawned comparisons to Hitler. "We don't want to wait!" he shouted. "We don't need any parties! This is our party! What other parties do you need?" A couple of weeks later, he seemed to regret the vitriol. "I know some people got scared," he told *TIME* in his meager office, where he runs a small legal firm. "I got too emotional, but what can I say? I really hate the people in power. I hate them with every fiber of my being. That is what drives me in almost everything I do."

Navalny has said he will run for President only when he is sure of an honest vote. He concedes that Putin, with no viable competitors, will likely win a third term in March. But that will simply continue to discredit Putin, he says, adding, "This will not be a legal presidency."

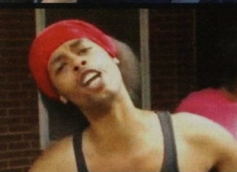
Though his political instincts are keen, Navalny is just emerging from the firebrand politics of the blogosphere, and he often sounds more like a hothead than a statesman. But his hatred for Putin's system is shared by a large and growing segment of the Russian electorate. No one can say whether that energy will be channeled into a revolution, into real democratic reform, or whether it will simply dissolve into feuding camps. But one thing is clear: Navalny has brought the anger out of the Web and onto the streets. There is no easy way to force it back. ■

'People aren't really afraid of my views. They are just afraid of the word nationalism.'

—ALEXEI NAVALNY

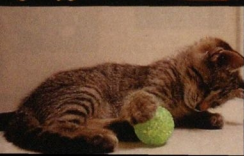
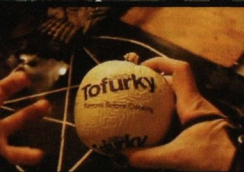
born sometime from 1976 to 1982. "This is the Moscow baby boom," he says, "and they have come of age." During the Cold War, they were too young to soak up the Soviet culture of absolutism. "They understand that our existence is not defined as a conflict between East and West," Navalny says. They are old enough to have traveled around and formed mature political opinions but young enough, he says, "to feel at home on the Internet." That is where Navalny has worked under the radar of mainstream Russian politics. Senior officials have tended to dismiss him as a chat-room gadfly. They clearly underestimated his ability to sting.

As of November, about 70 million Russians—half the population—had



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TECHNOLOGY

THE BEAST WITH A BILLION EYES

In just seven years, YouTube has become the most rapidly growing force in human history. Where does it go from here?

BY LEV GROSSMAN

FOR EVERY MINUTE THAT PASSES in real time, 60 hours of video are uploaded to YouTube.

You can turn that number over in your mind as much as you want; at no point will it stop being incredible. Sixty hours every minute. That's five months of video every hour. That's 10 years of video every day. More video is uploaded to YouTube every month than has been broadcast by the three big TV networks in the past 60 years. And the pace is accelerating: last year the rate was only 48 hours per minute. William Blake once wrote something about seeing a world in a grain of sand and holding eternity in an hour. YouTube hasn't reached that point yet, but it's well on its way.

There's never been an object like YouTube in human history. It gets 4,000,000,000 page views a day, which adds up to 1,000,000,000,000—that's a trillion—a year. It has 800,000,000 users (about the same as Facebook) who watch 3,000,000,000 hours of video a month (that's 340,000 years). Human civilization now generates massive quantities of video footage simply as a by-product of its daily functioning, much as some industrial processes generate toxic slurry. Before YouTube there was no central catchment for all that video; now it drains into a single reservoir, where we as a species can pan through it and wallow in it endlessly.

In October 2006, when Google bought YouTube for \$1.65 billion, it seemed possible that the company had screwed up on an epic scale—YouTube's rivals would split the market, or the Net would crash from all that video traffic, or YouTube would be sued into nothingness over copyright violations. But no: YouTube's rivals failed to thrive, the Net has held, and YouTube hacked out elaborate technological solutions to its copyright woes that even the plaintiffs had to admit were pretty cool. YouTube has eaten everything in sight.

YouTube's morbid obesity is a mixed

blessing. It's a good thing for us in that it's handy to have all that video in the same place. It's good for Google, because check out all that traffic. But YouTube is becoming a difficult proposition for Google. After all, YouTube isn't like television. When you turn on a TV, you're presented with a limited number of options, which you know something about and which you can count on to be fairly professional-looking. On YouTube, the search engine is sifting through a billion options, literally, and you hardly know anything about any of them. You can't just turn YouTube on and chill out the way you do with TV.

This accounts for the one very small number among YouTube's many giant ones: 15 minutes. That's how long the average user spends on the site per day. Whereas the average American spends nearly three hours a day watching TV. And make no mistake: TV is the competition here.

The other consequence of YouTube's runaway success is that it's expensive: it costs Google a lot of money to keep the billion-eyed beast alive. It has to keep a lot of servers humming to store all that video, because YouTube never forgets, and it needs big, fat expensive pipes to keep those videos streaming 24/7, 365. Google isn't made of money.

Well, maybe it is. I'll get back to you on that. But even Google has to make YouTube pay, by running ads next to or before or on top of all those videos. Whatever else it might be or want to be, YouTube must be a gigantic, billion-faced advertising billboard. It has to consume attention and excrete cash.

Obviously, YouTube has no problem getting attention; it's just not necessarily the kind of attention advertisers like. All kinds of weird, random stuff gets uploaded to YouTube, and then other weird, random stuff gets appended to that stuff as comments, and advertisers don't like that. They don't want to get weird, random stuff all over their nice, clean brands. As a result,

Google can't charge as much for its ads as, say, Fox does. It can't even charge as much as Hulu.com, which gets a fraction of YouTube's traffic but which shows only professionally produced and sanitized content.

But Google can't just clean up YouTube, whack it on the ass and point it in the direction the company wants it to go. That would destroy YouTube's essential, anarchic nature, and anarchy is the beating heart of the billion-eyed beast. What to do?

In biology there's something called the square-cube law, which explains why animals can't stand up when they get too big. Likewise in astrophysics, even light is unable to escape black holes because they are so dense. An analogous fate constantly stalks YouTube, just over the event horizon: its messy, ungovernable enormity is both its great strength and its fatal flaw. Which is why, while you and I are blowing off work to watch a monkey ride backward on a pig, a small army is fighting a ceaseless, Sisyphean war to keep YouTube from collapsing under its own weight. If YouTube can actually win that war, its victory will have consequences for the entire universe of broadcast media.

THE HEADQUARTERS FOR THAT ARMY IS IN San Bruno, Calif., just south of San Francisco. (A hill near YouTube's office, one of those velvety California foothills that look like giant paws, bears a Hollywood-style sign that reads *SOUTH SAN FRANCISCO, THE INDUSTRIAL CITY*.) YouTube is housed in a huge, airy blond-wood office building; it appears to be part aerodrome but is in fact a former showroom for the Gap. (On the day I visited, YouTubeers were rubbernecking at the sight of someone's office toy, a shark-shaped inflatable dirigible, that had gotten sucked into an air vent.) The centerpiece of YouTube's offices is a big, wavy red plastic slide in one of the atriums that runs from the top floor all the way to the bottom. You can find, somewhere on YouTube, a video of a dude catching big-time air and then

HOW TO SHAPE THE INTERNET IN SEVEN YEARS



YouTube born

Domain name registered



First video posted ("Me at the Zoo")
6.6 MILLION VIEWS



First major YouTube-created viral hit ("Chinese Backstreet Boys")
13.9 MILLION VIEWS



First video to reach 1 million views ("Touch of Gold")

YouTube officially launched



totally wiping out on that slide; the legal disclaimer at the top of the slide is long and artful. Conference rooms are named after viral videos: you can take a meeting in Sad Keanu, or This Is Sparta!, or Socially Awkward Penguin. I spent the day in Nyan Cat.

(In case you missed it, Nyan Cat is one of the more mysterious and quintessentially YouTube video phenomena ever to have crossed the viral threshold. It's a video of a cartoon cat with the body of a Pop-Tart that runs—scampers, really—through outer space, with a rainbow trailing behind it. Nyan Cat was originally created as an animated GIF by a 25-year-old Texas cartoonist named Chris Torres, who posted it on a comics website on April 2, 2011. Three days later, a YouTube user who goes by sarajoon [her bio reads, "I am the video word made flesh"] added a sound track, a maddeningly cheery Japanese pop song called "Nyanyanyanyanyanyany," and reposted the GIF to YouTube as a video. The mashup went viral and finished 2011 as the fifth most watched video on YouTube, with 58,949,289 views. Wait—make that 58,949,290.)

The first line of defense against YouTube's runaway chaos, and the first angle of attack for a hopeful viewer, is search. YouTube gets a billion search queries a day; if they were tallied separately from Google's, YouTube would be the second largest search engine on the Internet. But searching for videos isn't like searching for Web pages. It's harder. Computers can read Web pages because they are made out of words: if you're looking for information on echidnas, a search engine can send you to a website where the string of letters "echidna" occurs a lot. But a computer can't watch a movie. It can't look at the huge string of 1's and 0's that make up a video file and know that that movie depicts a spiny, insectivorous, egg-laying mammal native to Australia and New Guinea. Computers are blind and deaf. To a computer, a movie is a black box.

This is one of YouTube's core organi-

'If our journey is a baseball game, we're not even in the first inning. We're, like, in warm-ups.'

—SHISHIR MEHROTRA,
YOUTUBE VICE PRESIDENT,
PRODUCT MANAGEMENT

zational challenges. We help guide the poor, blind, deaf computers by attaching verbal descriptions to our videos, but unfortunately, we're not very reliable. Sometimes we'll title a video something like "For your viewing pleasure, this is a short film of a monkey riding backward on an echidna," but we're just as likely to call it "LOLOLOL this thing is amazeballs!!!!!!!" We're unpredictable that way.

YouTube can't watch videos, and it can't trust what we say, so instead it watches what we do. If you search for "echidna," YouTube will notice which of the search results you click on and will infer that that video is more echidna-y than the others; next time, it will be ranked a little higher. It will also notice if you watch the whole video or give up in the middle, and which video you watch right after it, and whether you post that video on your blog, and if you leave the site after you watch it or hang around for a while. It uses all that information to deduce things about the contents of the videos and improve its search results accordingly.

But it's not a permanent solution. Even as YouTube builds up its hoard of user-behavior data, the Youiverse keeps expanding. Moreover, search is useful only for people who know what they're looking for, and more often than not, people don't. Users tend to arrive at YouTube's front door the same way they sit down in front of a TV: with what is known inside the aerodrome

as "low intent." They have no plan. They know they want to be entertained, but how or with what, they have no clue. And you can't search if you don't know what you're searching for; in fact, top search terms on YouTube include such plaintively vague requests as "funny videos" and "lol."

If YouTube is going to survive, and make money, and circumvent the squarecube law, new tactics will be required. With that in mind, the people who run YouTube are completely rebuilding it. YouTube needs to pull itself together and help users elevate their intent. If it can do that, it can start to compete with TV—and maybe even, as the beast has been known to do to its rivals, devour it.

YOU PROBABLY HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH about YouTube's background color. Fortunately somebody is thinking about it for you: a smart, intense woman named Margaret Gould Stewart, whose business card reads DIRECTOR OF USER EXPERIENCE. Stewart oversaw the redesign of YouTube that began to roll out in December and continues in the form of ongoing changes. "We're never done," she says. "Literally, week to week, we're always tweaking."

The challenge Stewart was faced is to create a container—her word—that will fit all of YouTube's vastly diverse content and make the task of navigating that content easier. That's why YouTube's background color, which used to be white, is now gray. "When you mat photographs," she says, "quite often you use gray instead of white or black because it tends to bring out a lot more of the nuances in a photograph."

Stewart's team also adjusted the height of YouTube's buttons and the radii of their rounded corners, and changed the way links look (they used to be blue and underlined; now they're just gray). "When you have it all blue and underlined in the default resting state, it really distracts," Stewart says. "This allows people to access that information when it's relevant, but it

100 million



OK Go releases its "Here I Go Again" treadmill video

Google

Google acquires YouTube for \$1.65 billion



Justin Bieber uploads first video to YouTube



"Charlie Bit My Finger" 410 MILLION VIEWS

APRIL 29, 2006

JULY 2006

JULY 31, 2006

OCTOBER 6, 2006

JANUARY 19, 2007

MAY 22, 2007

doesn't shout at them the whole time." Her team also enlarged the thumbnail images very slightly. "That change alone increased clicks to the Watch page by 2%," she says. "We were pretty amazed. We knew it was going to impact user behavior. We just didn't know how."

These are cosmetic changes, obviously. More changes are afoot, of a deeper, structural kind, changes in the very bones of the Youniverse. Whereas the old front page of YouTube was a grid of videos arrayed hopefully in front of you, chosen by some invisible hand for inscrutable reasons, now you get something much more civilized. The first things you see are a tidy list of channels on the left-hand side and a Facebook-style feed running down the middle of the page, consisting of recent videos from those channels on the left.

Broadly speaking, the channels are places where a bunch of videos can be grouped together onto one page by an individual user. They've always been there, but they used to be anemic things that most users ignored. "Users on YouTube really understand one noun, what we call a core object, and that's the video," says Noam Lovinsky, a group product manager at YouTube. "They don't really understand the concept of channels." YouTube is going to teach them. Where there used to be two units of organization on YouTube—a single video and the 1 billion video collection—now there's something in between. "The point is to bring channels first and foremost into the site," Lovinsky says, "and to create an experience where I as a user can tell YouTube, Hey, these are the things that I care about, this is where my affinity lies, this is the thing I like to be connected to, so I can turn on YouTube and see what's on."

It's a minor change that has major repercussions, not just for you and Your Tube but quite possibly for the entire broadcast industry. It helps solve YouTube's chaos problem, by putting users to work organizing all those videos themselves. But more

The danger for YouTube is that by trying to beat TV, it will become TV, and in so doing it will lose its weird, fluky, anarchic heart

to the point, there's something else that has channels—oh, that's right, TV! This isn't just a design tweak; this is YouTube attempting to take its place as the next and possibly final stage in what it sees as the lengthy evolution of broadcast media everywhere.

Shishir Mehrotra, YouTube's vice president of product management (after a while, you begin to suspect that everybody at YouTube has the same job with slightly different names), has a good set piece on this subject. It goes like this: In 1988 the No. 1 TV show in the country was *The Cosby Show*, with an average weekly Nielsen rating of 27.1. (Mehrotra cites the numbers from memory; he gets some of them wrong, it turns out, but his point stands.) Ten years later, in 1998, *Seinfeld* was No. 1—but it drew only a 21.7 rating. In 2008 the No. 1 show was *American Idol*, but it averaged just a 15.4 rating. Obviously, No. 1 isn't what it used to be. The audience for TV has become increasingly fragmented.

But cable TV can fragment only so far. You can have a cable channel that's dedicated solely to sports, but you can't have one that's dedicated just to, say, sailing, because the economics don't work. You can't run a cable channel if only 30 people watch it.

But you can run a YouTube channel. YouTube can fragment infinitely, and Mehrotra thinks it will. YouTube is planning on playing the long game. "If our journey is a baseball game, we're not even in the

first inning," he says. "We're, like, in warm-ups. You can't even watch YouTube on your television yet. All the channel owners are still producing for antiquated, gate-kept ecosystems. All that's going to change." If YouTube can't beat TV, it's going to quietly, subtly join it—and then it's going to beat the living crap out of it. "About 75% of our time is spent watching brands that didn't exist in 1980," says Salar Kamangar, YouTube's CEO. "We think of ourselves as the platform for the next generation of channels."

With that in mind, YouTube has started getting into the business of producing its own content, just like a TV network. To do that, it poached a man named Robert Kyncl from Netflix and made him its global head of content. Kyncl—whose thick accent (he's Czech), large teeth and furious energy inevitably remind one of Arnold Schwarzenegger—has been forging partnerships with established old-media creators all over Hollywood, offering them cash, low production costs and no hassles. "All content creators, especially the more successful they become in television, the less happy they are with the way their art is treated," Kyncl says. "They're getting notes and creative direction from those who find the audience for them, which is the TV networks. They view YouTube as a place where they can find creative freedom." So far Kyncl has signed deals with Jay-Z, Madonna, Disney, the *Onion*, Amy Poehler, Tony Hawk and Anthony Zuiker (he created *CSI*), among others, to build channels on YouTube, some of which have already launched. If it all sounds a bit quixotic—a website for novelty videos, owned by a company without a single content-related base pair anywhere in its corporate DNA, trying to take on all of TV—consider this: right now, the most popular channel on YouTube has 5.3 million subscribers. That's impressive in itself, but even more so when you consider that cable TV's top network, USA, averages only 1.3 million viewers over the course of each day. Granted, USA's



"Keyboard Cat"
21.4 MILLION
VIEWS

JUNE 7,
2007



"Dramatic Chipmunk"
33.7 MILLION
VIEWS

JUNE 17,
2007



First CNN/
YouTube debate

JULY 23,
2007



Queen Elizabeth's
Christmas
address

DECEMBER
25, 2008

YouTube HD
launches

DECEMBER
2008

20
hours

20 hours
uploaded
per minute

MAY
2009

viewers spend a lot more time watching USA than YouTubers do on YouTube, but still. The scale is still there.

Though just because YouTube has channels now doesn't mean that its rules have fundamentally changed. The nature of the beast is still the same, and one wonders if the likes of Madonna and Jay-Z fully understand that. For instance: that YouTube channel, the one with the 5.3 million subscribers, doesn't belong to a celebrity or a major broadcast network. It's called RayWilliamJohnson, and it belongs, not surprisingly, to one Ray William Johnson, a law student turned video blogger who does rapid-fire commentary on other people's viral videos.

That's one of the funny wrinkles in YouTube's channel strategy: anybody can run one easily and for free. That puts individual YouTube users on the same footing with celebrities and major networks. They don't even have to produce their own content. Cable TV is very much about buying and/or creating expensive and/or original programming, but more content is the last thing YouTube needs. It's drowning in content, at 60 hours a minute! So a channel owner can create value simply by curating and organizing content, which is something that an individual or a small group can do as well as a network, and sometimes better. Johnson is a good example. Another is the Young Turks, a news channel that reposts and comments on other people's footage and interviews. CNN's YouTube channel has 50,000 subscribers, but the Young Turks, with a fraction of CNN's resources, has 315,000. In the land of abundance, it's the curator, not the creator, who is king, and authenticity and relatability are worth as much as or more than slick production values.

YouTube can't just step in and replace TV, because it's a fundamentally different medium. If it does, the world is going to look very different. YouTube is an inverted, looking-glass version of the media land-

scape: brands that are dominant everywhere else play like amateurs on it, and amateurs play like multinational conglomerates. The Khan Academy is an education channel on YouTube founded by a former hedge-fund manager named Salman Khan, who makes almost all its videos himself. It has 255,000 subscribers; that's more than the channels of the entire Ivy League combined. The Cartoon Network's YouTube channel has 53,000 subscribers; compare that with Fred, a channel run by an 18-year-old from Nebraska named Lucas Cruikshank, which has 2.4 million. And so on.

That's not to say that a big institution couldn't do what Khan did. It just wouldn't, as Mehrotra is the first to admit: "Imagine [Khan] walking into a studio and saying, 'I want to start a show about math. All I want to do is solve problems. I'm never going to show my face. I'm going to solve every problem in your standard algebra book, then I'll do it in chemistry and so on.' He'd get laughed out of the room." Brands and celebrities occasionally make it out of YouTube—Justin Bieber being the obvious example—but it's much rarer for them to successfully cross over the other way.

This isn't lost on Kyncl, by the way, who likes to matchmake his professional partners with YouTube natives who can show them the ropes. But he has his work cut out for him. Run your eye down the list of the most-subscribed channels on YouTube and you have to go down 14 places before you get to a name that a person on the street would recognize (that name is Rihanna). Something about the air on Planet YouTube is toxic to the professional, corporate, branded way of doing things. It's not entirely clear whether professionals can breathe the air in what has, until now, been an amateur's paradise.

The danger for YouTube is that by trying to beat TV, it will become TV, and in so doing it will lose its weird, fluky, anarchic heart, which is what makes it different

from, and in some ways better than, TV. But more likely, YouTube's new strategy will end up unleashing the billion-eyed beast, rather than taming it. It will undoubtedly grow YouTube's audience, but there's no reason to think it will make our tastes less weird and random. If the Young Turks are the future of broadcast news, advertisers may just have to make their peace with that.

Take another look at Nyan Cat. It may just be a cartoon cat in space (with a Pop-Tart body and trailing rainbow), but it has a serious lesson to teach us. If you search for Nyan Cat on YouTube, you'll find hundreds of versions of it, reflecting thousands of hours of work from people all over the world. There's an Indian Nyan Cat (its body is made up of garlic naan instead of a Pop-Tart). There are live-action versions

featuring both cats and humans dressed as cats. There are cover versions scored for solo piano, solo violin, a smooth jazz combo and a full orchestra. There's a Lego version, a 100-hour-long version and a Nazi version (Nein Cat!). There's a Schrödinger's Nyan Cat. There's a *Star Wars* version in which Luke Skywalker and Obi-Wan Kenobi watch the holo-message from R2-D2, only instead of seeing Princess Leia, they see Nyan Cat. There's a video of a cat watching Nyan Cat, and a video of a cat watching that video and a video of a cat watching that video.

If the studios would have laughed at Sal Khan, what would they say to Nyan Cat? What Nyan Cat tells us is that when you put amateurs in charge of broadcast media, odd things happen, and that's what YouTube does. When all we had was bland, corporate network television, we assumed that we were bland and corporate too. But if we're the ones running the studio, the Nyan Cat will be out of the bag. We're only beginning to find out how weird we really are. Stay tuned, because YouTube is going to show us. ■

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Command And Control

Fixing capitalism means taking power back from business

NEWT GINGRICH'S LATEST ATTACK on fellow Republican presidential candidate Mitt Romney's leadership of a private-equity firm goes to the heart of today's biggest debate in politics and economics. "If we identify capitalism with rich guys looting companies, we're going to have a very hard time protecting it," Gingrich said. Protecting—or more particularly, fixing—capitalism will be a big topic at the World Economic Forum in Davos this month. With the global economy still sputtering, and governments unable to successfully address big issues like income inequality, unemployment and growing debt, it's a subject that's front and center not only in the U.S. but also throughout Europe, Asia and the rest of the world.

A key part of fixing capitalism will be reconciling the large and growing imbalances between the

public and private sectors. National governments have, over the past several decades, seen the most basic pillars of their power erode. Globalization has undermined their efforts to manage their borders. The ability to control their own currency has been lost for all but a handful of major powers. Fewer than two dozen have the ability to sustainably project force beyond their borders. Meanwhile, corporations play nation-states against one another as they venue-shop for more attractive tax or regulatory regimes. This regulatory arbitrage undermines nations' ability to enforce their own laws.

Indeed, the rise of big stateless corporations, which now rival many countries in terms of economic and political clout, poses special new challenges to governments.

When early corporations were established by royal charters almost a millennium ago, there was no mistaking their purpose. They had been created by states to serve their interests. But over the centuries, they took advantage of their special status, which allowed them to achieve enormous scale and buy political favor. The result: they helped shape the development of laws that further tipped the balance of power in their favor.

Corporations have morphed from legal entities designed to ensure that an enterprise could survive the death of its owners to institutions possessing more rights than people. The 14th Amendment, established in the late 19th century, granted citizens equal protection under the law. Yet most of the times it has been invoked since its adoption were on behalf of corporate rights. The amendment was created to protect the rights of former slaves, but from 1890 to 1910, for example, 288 of the cases brought under its terms dealt with the interests of corporations, while only 19 dealt with the rights of African Americans. Corporations have used the 14th Amendment to do things like block taxes levied "without due process" and define advertising copy as protected free speech.

WORLD
ECONOMIC
FORUM

**KEY MOMENTS
IN THE HISTORY
OF CAPITALISM**
A primer on 400
years of bubbles,
booms and
busts, from the
first stock issue
to the euro
meltdown

1602

The Dutch East
India Co. issues
the world's first
corporate stock

1637

Crash of tulip
prices, the first
widely recorded
speculative
bubble

1771

Richard Arkwright
builds the first
modern factory,
in England

1776

Adam Smith
champions free
markets in *The
Wealth of
Nations*

NO SILOS. NO BORDERS. JUST IDEAS.



It all comes down to ideas that generate shared value. Which requires a different than usual approach. One that truly focuses on the long-term interests of our clients and the communities we serve. Where collaboration is incentivized so that the best resources from across our global organization work together to deliver the right solutions. And where the personal courage of our clients is matched only by our confidence in their vision. Because when our clients succeed in this way, the results benefit everyone.

Earn Success Every Day



**BARCLAYS
CAPITAL**

More recently, the U.S. Supreme Court's landmark 2010 decision in favor of the conservative organization Citizens United—which relaxed campaign-finance limits on corporations and labor unions and spawned so-called super PACs (political action committees)—equated money spent on political campaigns with constitutionally protected speech. The decision grants speech to all sorts of independent entities, including corporations. But a practical effect has been that entities with more money (like super PACs) can now crowd the airwaves with their message.

The biggest companies—the Walmarts and Exxons of the world—have financial resources and political reach that rival all but a few dozen states. Even the 2,000th largest company on the planet is at the center of more economic activity than scores of small countries like Mongolia or Haiti. As borderless supercitizens, global corporations have changed the international order, yet our rules and approaches to governance remain the same.

We have also lost sight of the philosophical ideas that historically gave national governments their authority. The current argument that larger government impinges on rather than protects or advances individual liberties is a far cry from the ideas that fueled England's Glorious Revolution and the American Revolution. It ignores the fact that the void created by smaller government is often not filled by liberty. When matters like the global environment or regulation of derivatives trading are left entirely to market forces, for instance, outcomes tend to serve the most powerful, because markets neither have a conscience nor do they ensure opportunity. Rather, they seek efficiency, and efficiency loves scale, and enterprises that grow to scale become elephants stamping out opportunities around them.

This was well understood and derided by the father of capitalism, Adam Smith. He condemned the abuses of the megacompanies of his

GROWING INCOME INEQUALITY AND FALTERING ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE HAVE TARNISHED AMERICAN 'LEAVE IT TO THE MARKETS' CAPITALISM

day, like the British East India Co., calling those companies "nuisances in every respect," since the monopolies they fostered inevitably led to profit-destroying corruption. Without effective international institutions that can govern global markets and are seen as representing the interests of people from all nations, there are few if any effective forces acting on behalf of ordinary people.

We've seen this kind of disconnect before among commerce, government and other powerful institutions. In each case, new technologies that increased communication and travel and changed the ways products were made disrupted the status quo and led to new ways of thinking. It happened during the Thirty Years' War in Europe, when battles between church and state resulted in today's world of nation-states. It happened during the Enlightenment, as new technologies of mass communication linked and elevated average people, enabling them to challenge monarchies. Later it helped undo the mercantile system and colonialism. Each of these phases was marked by unrest and uncertainty. And each came with philosophical revolutions, leading to the development of ideas like separation of church and state, the notion that the legitimacy of the state is linked to the consent of the governed, and the ideological contest between socialism and capitalism. It's still

happening. High-speed transportation has made it possible to produce goods overseas, communications technologies have created 24-hour global markets, and the Internet has allowed for markets in cyberspace to move beyond the reach of national tax laws or regulators.

Today's contest is not so much between capitalism and another ideology but between competing forms of capitalism. The financial crisis, growing income inequality and faltering economic performance in the U.S. have tarnished American "leave it to the markets" capitalism, which is being challenged by "capitalism with Chinese characteristics," Eurocapitalism, democratic development capitalism (India and Brazil) and even small-state entrepreneurial capitalism (Singapore, the U.A.E. and Israel). All these models favor a more significant role for the state in regulation, ownership and control of assets.

Whichever model triumphs, there's a need for stronger regional and global institutions. Europe needs a more robust E.U. with powerful regulatory and central-banking institutions and weakened national governments. Regulating global financial markets, addressing climate issues and containing weapons of mass destruction all require better multilateral governance. But because business has grown so important, the public sector will have to work with the private. Companies will need to become more like states in providing social services. And states will need to become more like companies: entrepreneurial, flexible and less hierarchical.

All this is a continuation of history's great upheavals, and we are in for a new period of volatility. It's the natural effect of the blurring lines between corporations and individuals, companies and states, nations and the global community. ■

Rothkopf is the author of Power, Inc.: The Epic Rivalry Between Big Business and Government—and the Reckoning That Lies Ahead, due out in February from FSG

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Britain repeals the Corn Laws and ushers in the era of free trade

1929 +
U.S. stock market meltdown sparks the Great Depression

1978 +
Deng Xiaoping launches capitalist-style reform in communist China

2008 +
Lehman Brothers collapses and the Great Recession begins

2012 +
S&P downgrades credit ratings of France, Italy and seven other European countries

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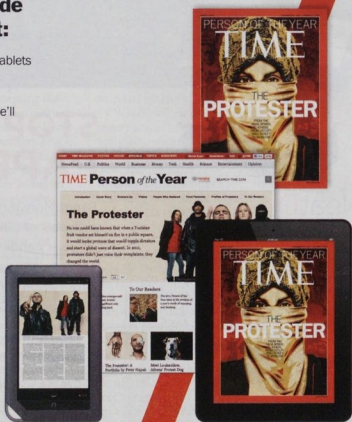
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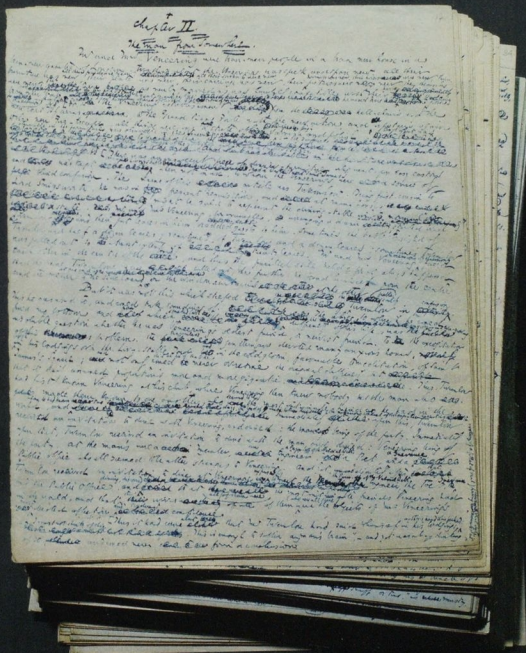
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A page from the manuscript of *Our Mutual Friend*, part of the exhibit "Charles Dickens at 200" at the Morgan Library & Museum in New York City through Feb. 12

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Pop Chart



SINGING EDITION



GOOD WEEK/ BAD WEEK

Adele

Recovered from her vocal-cord surgery, she'll return to the stage in February

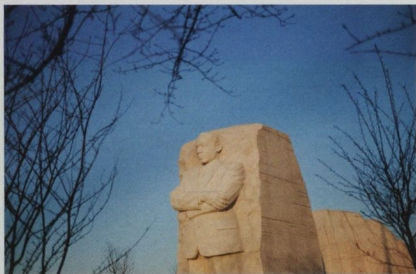
Lana Del Rey

The indie chanteuse gave the worst SNL performance since Ashlee Simpson's lip-sync snafu.

POSEURS

Stefon Approved

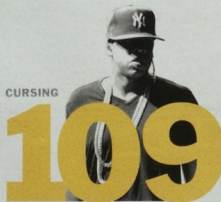
Someone is pretending to be Stefon—*Saturday Night Live*'s tweaked-out party boy—and posting Yelp reviews of actual New York City nightspots. "This place has everything," he writes of one club. "Mr. [Miyagi] impersonators ... [and] a jacuzzi of expired milk." Can someone get us on the guest list?



MEMORIALS

New Inscription for Martin Luther King Jr.

Following criticism that the boastful quote on the civil rights leader's Washington memorial ("I was a drum major for justice, peace and righteousness") left out a key part ("If you want to say I was a drum major, say ..."), the National Park Service has been ordered to consult with King's family and choose an alternative.



CURSING

Number of Jay-Z songs, out of a total of 217 (or 50.2%) on his solo and collaborative albums, that contain the word *bitch*. Recently, reports circulated that Jay-Z, feeling protective of his daughter, vowed to strike the derogatory term from his vocabulary. The claim turned out to be false—possibly for the best, since wiping out that many references would take near endless scrubbing. (Hova's 1998 album *Vol. 2 ... Hard Knock Life* ranks as the most profane: 71% of its songs contain the B word.)

Author Maya Angelou said the quote made King sound like an "arrogant twit"



COMEDY

PAC Men

Last summer, capitalizing on a landmark Supreme Court decision that allowed for the creation of super PACs—organizations that can raise unlimited sums of campaign money from corporations, unions and billionaires—Comedy Central's Stephen Colbert created a super PAC of his own: Americans for a Better Tomorrow, Tomorrow. But since the ruling bars super PACs from either speaking with the candidates they support or consulting with their campaigns about how to spend the money, Colbert transferred the PAC power to fellow comedian Jon Stewart after announcing his candidacy for "President of the United States of South Carolina" on Jan. 12. The rebranded super PAC, now the Definitely Not Coordinating with Stephen Colbert Super PAC, hit another bump when it was discovered that Colbert's name isn't on the primary ballot in South Carolina. So the group decided to take the natural next step and release an ad urging South Carolinians to vote for former presidential candidate Herman Cain, whose name still appears on the ballot. Who knew democracy could be so confusing?

FOOD

Straight to the Castle Door

Burger King really wants you to "have it your way." The fast-food chain is testing home delivery (for an extra \$2) in some areas of Maryland and Virginia, combatting potential sogginess with new "thermal-packaging technology." Throw in some new self-loathing-elimination technology and we're good to go.

This can be delivered to your home!





POLICE WORK Photographer Leonard Freed thought police officers ought to be seen not as “cops” or “pigs” but as servants charged with protecting the public. To that end, he sought to capture the realities of a 1970s New York City officer’s life—both the harshness and the humanity. Read more about Freed’s pictures at lightbox.time.com.



TELEVISION Funny Fail

News flash: sexism still isn’t funny. *The Late Show* with David Letterman’s longtime comedy booker, Eddie Brill, lost his position after telling the *New York Times* that he books more male performers because there are fewer “authentic” female comedians. Brill remains at CBS in another role, but the funnywomen he scored are likely having the last laugh.



VIRAL

Font 'n' Roll

There’s a reason design snobs hate the typeface Comic Sans: it’s impossible to take seriously. Not that Clipart Covers cares. The blog grabs album covers and re-creates them with cheesy cartoons and Comic Sans text. And you thought Beck’s mop dog couldn’t get any cuter.

VERBATIM

‘Why would I make any more when everybody yells at you all the time and says what a terrible person you are?’

GEORGE LUCAS, on fans’ gripes about his *Star Wars* franchise; the director says he’s tired of the criticism and is going to retire from big-budget films in favor of smaller, experimental projects



3 THINGS YOU DON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT THIS WEEK

1. Scientists' sense of humor. Australian researchers named a newly discovered fly *Scaptia (Plinthina) beyonceae* because its golden bottom is “bootylicious” like Beyoncé’s.

2. Making it through airport security with that yummy cupcake. A Rhode Island bakery is selling a version with TSA-approved levels of frosting.

3. Kristen Wiig catching a case of sequel-itis. The comedienne says she’s not interested in making a sequel to *Bridesmaids*. So there! If only the dudes from *The Hangover* had felt the same way.

Charles in Charge

The secret of Dickens' enduring success

By Radhika Jones

IN 1812, THE YEAR CHARLES DICKENS WAS born, there were 66 novels published in Britain. People had been writing novels for a century—but most critics date the genre to *Robinson Crusoe* in 1719—but nobody aspired to do it professionally. Many works of fiction appeared anonymously, with attributions like “By a Lady.” The steam-powered printing press was still in its infancy; the literacy rate in England was under 50%. And novels, for the most part, were looked upon as silly, immoral, toxic or just plain bad. “No species of composition has been so much decried,” wrote one lady of the time, Jane Austen, in *Northanger Abbey*, a satirical novel that skewers an impressionable young woman who reads too many gothic novels.

In 1870, when Dickens died, the world mourned him as its first literary celebrity: a career writer and publisher, famous and beloved, who had led an explosion in both the publication of novels and their readership and whose characters—from *Oliver Twist* to *Tiny Tim*—were held up as moral touchstones. Today Dickens' greatness is unchallenged. Evicting him from the pantheon of English literature would make about as much sense as the Louvre selling off the *Mona Lisa*.

How did Dickens get to the top? For all the sentiment readers attach to stories, literature is a numbers game, and the test of time is exceedingly difficult to pass. Some 60,000 novels were published in the Victorian era, from 1837 to 1901; today a casual reader might be able to name a half-dozen of them. It's partly that Dickens was a stylistic genius, whose writing attracted audiences highbrow and low. It's partly that his career rode a wave of social, political and scientific progress. But it's also that he rewrote the culture of literature and put himself

at the center. No one will ever know what mix of talent, ambition, energy and luck made Dickens such a singular writer. But as his bicentenary approaches, it is possible—and enlightening for our own culture—to understand how he made himself a lasting one.

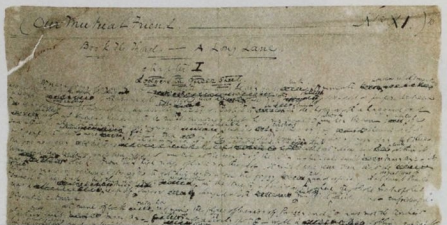
Posthumous Papers

DICKENS GOT INTO NOVEL WRITING BY accident. As a young man, he longed to be an actor and trained to be a reporter. He dashed off fictional stories from time to time. In 1836 he accepted a magazine commission to write a series of comic sketches, at £14 a month, to accompany a set of illustrations of sporting life. The result, *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club*, was a sensation. It established Dickens as a peerless ventriloquist, able to channel the voices of both swells and servants, and as a gifted writer of serials, which became the standard method of publication in an era when books were expensive but cheap periodicals thrived. Most important in terms of his legacy, *The Pickwick Papers* established him as a financially viable artist, bestriding the gap between creativity and commerce. From *Pickwick* to his deathbed, he wrote for an audience, and he wrote for money—two forces that before his time had had little to do with art.

Dickens' commitment to his audience also struck a contradictory balance: he cultivated a mass readership by creating a sense of personal intimacy. Readers felt he was speaking directly to them, and often he did. He channeled his thespian ambitions into live dramatic readings; his bloodcurdling performance of the brutal killing of Nancy in *Oliver Twist* caused fainting spells among audience members. “He invented that form of publicity,” says Nicholas Dames, a Victorian scholar and chair of the English department

The immortal
Dickens circa 1860,
the year he began
writing *Great*
Expectations





Cut and paste Detail of a manuscript page from *Our Mutual Friend*, the last novel Dickens completed. He planned his plots for optimal serial rhythms and revised his work heavily

at Columbia University. "He invented merchandising." (Think of *A Christmas Carol*, which he timed for the holidays.) "All those things that we associate with publishing culture—he was essentially the first." And Dickens knew it. He called himself the Inimitable, a nickname that stuck.

As his audience grew, Dickens took great care to keep his populist touch. Midway through the writing and publication of *David Copperfield*, he received a letter from an acquaintance objecting to a minor character, Miss Mowcher, who is implicated in a scheme involving the seduction of David's childhood friend Little Em'ly. Like the letter writer, Miss Mowcher happened to be a dwarf. Dickens responded that all his characters were composites and he hadn't meant to suggest that deformity of size might signify deformity of soul. But when Miss Mowcher reappears in the novel, he backpedaled and clears her of any wrongdoing. It's an awkward, implausible scene, but Dickens cared more about appeasing his wounded reader. He felt responsible to her, and to all his readers, and they adored him in return.

As immediate as the response was to his work, Dickens knew that his writing

was only as powerful as his ability to control it. Authors possessed limited copyright protection in England at the time his career began and virtually none abroad. American magazines pirated his work outright. Dickens fought successfully for stronger terms of copyright in England and for international agreements to prevent unauthorized translations and theft. He even advocated for an authors' union. As the editor of two weeklies, he was cultivating new talent—Wilkie Collins, Elizabeth Gaskell—and he wanted writers to profit from their work, during and after their lifetime.

He also began to think posthumously in his fiction. His early novels were rooted in problems specific to his time: the Poor Law of 1834 (*Oliver Twist*), the abusive schools in Yorkshire (*Nicholas Nickleby*). As he matured, his criticism became more oblique. He invented grand, allegorical evils: the Circumlocution Office in *Little Dorrit*, the parasitic court case of Jarndyce & Jarndyce in *Bleak House*—giant grinders of corruption and inefficiency that mangled all who entered them. When people read *Oliver Twist*, they knew whom to blame and what to fix. With Dickens' later novels, says Dames, "You can't identify

who the bad guy is anymore. Everything seems so systemic."

Critics found these novels dreary and diffuse. Henry James, reviewing *Our Mutual Friend* for the *Nation* in 1865, wrote, "For the last 10 years it has seemed to us that Mr. Dickens has been unmistakably forcing himself. *Bleak House* was forced; *Little Dorrit* was labored; the present work is dug out as with a spade and pickaxe." But Dickens wasn't writing for the critics. His deft touch with comedy and pathos kept his loyal readers happy, and he had a new readership in mind: posterity.

His final bit of legacy building involved the appointment of his close friend John Forster as his biographer. When Forster's *Life of Charles Dickens* appeared, two years after the great writer's death, it included a tale that Dickens had been too ashamed to tell all but a handful of people: that as a child he had been sent for a time to work in a blacking factory while his father was in debtor's prison. Readers were stunned. They already knew the details but from the young David Copperfield, who speaks, with pitiful innocence, of being "thrown away" at age 10 by his cruel stepfather to labor in a warehouse. They knew that Amy Dorrit was born in the debtor's prison to which her father was consigned. They knew that Pip, the hero of *Great Expectations*, carries a lifelong burden of shame about his low origins. Until Forster's biography, they didn't know where all this shame came from. It was Dickens' last plot twist—the revelation that at his characters' most vulnerable moments, their creator was speaking from experience. It surprised his readers and kept him alive in their minds.

Immortal and Inimitable

THE DICKENS BICENTENARY—WHICH IS being celebrated worldwide with festivities ranging from art exhibitions to performances of his work to Twitter book clubs—coincides with another leap in literary culture: the rise of electronic text. The debate about e-books still focuses on the merits of page vs. screen. But the far

Critics' Corner
Not everyone was a fan

The young Queen Victoria found *Oliver Twist* "excessively interesting." When Dickens died, she ordered him buried in the Poets' Corner at Westminster Abbey



He has added nothing to our understanding of human character.
—Henry James (1865)



The enthusiasm for him and for his readings is immense. One can hardly take in the whole truth about it, and feel the universality of his fame.
—Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1867)



more profound effect will be in disrupting the numbers game of literature—the game that began with the Victorian fiction boom, which began with Dickens.

E-books are changing the idea of being in print. Publishing was designed as a Darwinian process in which authors compete to be printed and then thousands of books go the way of the passenger pigeon. Digital files, self-publishing and print-on-demand technologies raise the possibility that this natural selection will be warped. "Our traditional definition of going out of print means that the content is no longer accessible," says Kelly Gallagher, a vice president of Bowker, a research firm that tracks the book industry. "The digital version lives in perpetuity." In some ways, that's a good thing—for writers, going out of print is a little taste of dying—but it exacerbates the problem of quantity. Yes, electronic books can linger unread, like any remainder hardback. But they are much easier to publish (and self-publish), store, circulate and revive. And copyright law, which always plays catch-up, will have to account for that.

The flood of books in the 19th century elicited two powerful institutional responses: the rise of prize culture and the rise of literature as a field of study. The message (sometimes subliminal, sometimes not) was that the masses needed help figuring out what to read, and the cultural elite—poets, professors, even statesmen—was going to provide it. The Nobel Prize was first awarded in 1901, the Pulitzer in 1917. About the same time, the study of English literature, which had been used mostly as a tool of cultural indoctrination in outposts of the British Empire, became a mainstream field, and a canon of approved literary texts began to take shape.

A century later, the curatorial influence of these institutions has been eroded by the same flood that brought them into existence. The English canon, which came under pressure for being largely populated by dead white males, has been expanded and modernized, even as great-books courses, with their implied cultural hier-

Serial Magic. Dickens' best



DAVID COPPERFIELD (1850)
His most autobiographical: a boy overcomes adversity to become a writer



BLEAK HOUSE (1853)
A sprawling court case paralyzes all it touches in this intricately plotted masterpiece



LITTLE DORRIT (1857)
The story of a man imprisoned for debt, this majestic tale explores the psychology of confinement



A TALE OF TWO CITIES (1859)
Dickens' bloody take on the French Revolution. It's a page turner, even if you know who wins



GREAT EXPECTATIONS (1861)
The adventures of Pip, an orphan who becomes heir to a mysterious fortune

archies, have fallen out of favor. Prizes have metastasized. As James English, director of the Penn Humanities Forum, writes in his book *The Economy of Prestige*, the ratio of awards to new titles of fiction, poetry and drama has risen tenfold since the 1920s. At the same time, the culture of reviews and criticism has fragmented. Anyone with a smart phone can review a new novel, or an old one. Poet-critics don't have the market share they used to. Aside from J.K. Rowling, the person who most determined what people read in the past 15 years is probably Oprah Winfrey.

If Dickens had been around for the first Nobel, he wouldn't have won it. His style drew scorn from critics for much of the early 20th century, when complicated, even inhospitable writing like that of James Joyce and Virginia Woolf came into fashion. (One of the tenets of modernism was that if it wasn't difficult, it wasn't art.) But regular people kept reading him. And around midcentury he was rescued by, among others, George Orwell, who latched onto him as a social critic. It was his dark, dreary novels that did the trick. They were precisely modern, it turned out. Dickens, so quintessentially of his time, was also ahead of it.

Once, an educated person could read pretty much everything important, because there weren't as many books and an educated person by definition pos-

sessed the money to buy books and the leisure to read them. The same publishing machine that helped spread literacy in the 19th century made it impossible for all the readers to read anywhere near all the books. Now, with more than 30,000 novels published last year in the U.S. alone, the idea is laughable.

So the Dickens bicentenary is a celebration of his immortality, but it's also a celebration of consensus, a sigh of relief. The verdict on Dickens is sound. He's been questioned and cross-examined and voted in. The exponential accumulation of fiction combined with the widening of its circle of stewards—prize givers and professors, yes, but also recommendation engines and top-10 lists—may make that kind of consensus difficult for future readers. They'll have more writers to choose from, more tastemakers to choose them and infinite piles of books in the cloud. The advantage will go to those novelists who don't just reflect the culture but also transform it. Will the readers of the future find their 21st century Dickens on the Pulitzer roster or the best-seller list or FanFiction.net? This much is clear: On Feb. 7, 2112, they'll be wishing the original Inimitable a very happy 300th birthday.

—WITH REPORTING BY ANDREA SACHS ■

FOR MORE WAYS TO CELEBRATE THE BICENTENARY, GO TO TIME.COM/DICKENS

I must fain confess that with the years I have lost much of my youthful admiration for Dickens.
—Mark Twain (1895)



No one, at any rate no English writer, has written better about childhood than Dickens.
—George Orwell (1939)



Dickens was able to mine this huge resource of London life, becoming its conductor and chronicler like nobody since Shakespeare himself.
—Christopher Hitchens (2011)



Food



Grease Under Fire. Paula Deen parlays just desserts into a sweet deal

By Josh Ozersky

IT'S PROBABLY SAFE TO SAY THAT FEW OF her viewers were surprised when down-home-cooking doyenne Paula Deen announced on Jan. 17 that she has Type 2 diabetes. Deen's recipes are so gruesomely unhealthy, so prodigal in their use of butter and cream and sugar and all the things we are supposed to avoid, that her show has, for several years now, had an almost libertine glee to it. Deen, 64, shrugged off cholesterol, damned the consequences and embraced her role as the Hunter S. Thompson of the Velveeta set. Now that she has diabetes, her critics are crowing, as she surely knew they would. But Paula Deen may know her audience better than they do.

The Food Network star, who has earned a prodigious income in recent years from both her show and a portfolio of Deen-branded products—everything from cookbooks and eyeglasses to hams and mattresses—admits that she has known of her ailment for three years. But now, she says, she's going to start talking about it—as a paid spokeswoman for the manufacturer of a diabetes drug. Many observers don't know whether to be horrified or high-five her. But that is very much the spirit of her career to date.

After all, it's Deen's very doggedness and her refusal to bend to contemporary mores that have made her what she is. Deen knew that, and her enormous success over the past decade on the Food Network was based on her personal élan and a freewheeling indifference to health concerns that in today's climate seemed in some weird way heroic. The woman just didn't care; she was going to deep-fry some Twinkies, and that was the end of it. The result, just as our mothers told us, was predictable. "Paula Deen was going to have some kind of health problem," says New York City chef Franklin Becker, the co-author of a well-known cookbook

for diabetics. "It might not have been diabetes, but it would have been something. If you cook that way, if you eat that way, you're going to get issues." Becker, who has the same ailment as Deen, says he "completely identifies" with her to heck with it approach to cooking, as he felt the same before his diagnosis. But not everybody feels so sympathetic toward her right now.

The truth is that Deen has some real questions to answer, and she hasn't done a very good job so far. It's one thing to be diagnosed with diabetes after you've built a career promoting bacon-wrapped mac and cheese and other I-dare-you dishes that contribute to obesity—a risk factor for developing the disease. But Al Roker, speaking for tortured dieters everywhere, asked her on the *Today* show why she took so long to tell people the news. The Georgia native responded with some folksy claptrap about how she was waiting to come forward until she could offer her "friends" some "hope." The eyes of even her admirers had to roll on that one. (She told *USA Today* that she knew "when it was time, it would be in God's time.")

Deen has yet to say anything especially helpful; on the website she just launched with the makers of an injectable drug that triggers insulin production, the only dietary change she revealed is that she has "cut back" on sweet tea. ("For a Southern girl, that's a big deal!") Meanwhile, she has diversified her revenue stream, profiting from her new status as America's First Lady of Diabetes even as her son has started his own show doing Paula-lite recipes on the Food Network's Cooking Channel.

No doubt Deen has made some enemies. You can't create a recipe for Krispy Kreme bread pudding without infuriating a few healthy eating scolds. But their smug sense of vindication could end up making people like her even more. The U.S. is a strange and conflicted country when it comes to food. We love our tacos, hate our scales and live in a state of perpetual shame. Paula Deen, after cooking all the wrong things so well and for so long, doesn't seem to feel any guilt at all. And there's something in us, I suspect, that can't help but like her for it, even though we know we shouldn't.

Deen, champion of the brunch burger, above, and other unhealthy delights, is also a spokeswoman for a diabetes drug



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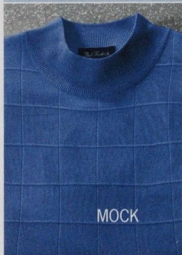
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Money

Paint by Numbers. Art beat stocks last year. But will the picture change?

By Bill Saporito

AT SOME POINT LAST YEAR I'M SURE I had art on my to-do list. Pick up the dry cleaning, a bag of Caffé Verona, peanut butter and, oh yeah, a couple of Picassos. How did I forget it? I bought every other asset class last year—small caps, big caps, bond indexes, foreign stock indexes and gold funds—and it all came to naught. That is, the S&P index had a total return of total crap in 2011, although not without extreme volatility, thanks to our friends in Europe.

Instead, art was the place to be. According to the Mei Moses World All Art Index (MMAI), which tracks art sales across several categories, art returned 10.2% in 2011, crushing the S&P's 0%. (That's a difference of 2 percentage points is significant.) The index, which tracks data back to 1810, reached an all-time high; Impressionist and modern art outperformed old masters, returning 14% vs. 4.8%. Christie's top sale last year was Pop-art master Roy Lichtenstein's *I Can See the Whole Room! ... And There's Nobody in It!*, which traded hands for \$43.2 million, including commission. "It's clear that the demand for art

has increased exponentially," says Christie's CEO Steven Murphy, whose auction house enjoyed a record year in sales in 2011. "People with money are choosing to spend on art collecting and investing."

Since Wall Street had such a lousy 2011, you would think there'd be less money available to chase art. But there's typically a 16-to-18-month lag between the S&P and the MMAI, which nonetheless move in tandem, according to Michael Moses, a retired New York University business professor and co-founder of Beautiful Assets Advisors, the company that created the index. In other words, Wall Street earns the money first and later buys art with it.

But just like a painting viewed from different angles, art as an asset gets more interesting depending on the investment horizon. In the past 10 years, art has pitched a shutout against the S&P, with a compound annual return (CAR) of 4.6% vs. 0%; over the past 25 years, though, the S&P has won, with a CAR of 9.3% vs. 6.5% for art. Go to a 50-year time frame and it's a draw, so to speak: art has about the same return and the same risk as equities, but

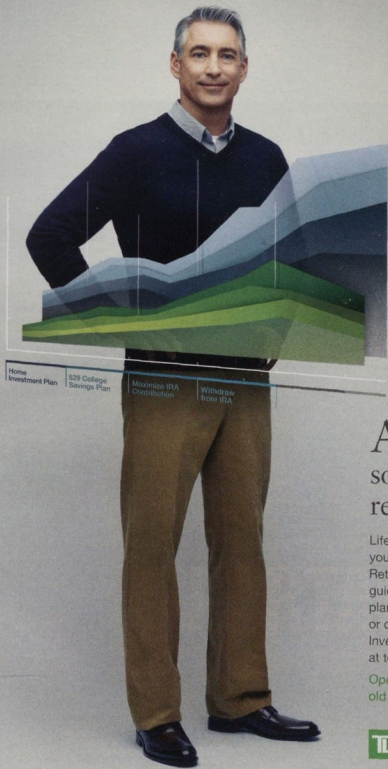
they are not correlated. "If you look at the two graphs, the trends are similar, but they beat to a different drummer," says Moses. Because art prices don't necessarily correlate with stock prices, the wealthy view art as a wealth preserver.

What's driving the interest today? For Murphy, a former publishing executive, it's the same revolution that shook his old industry. "There's been an incredibly important expansion in information and the ability to display images," he says. "Anybody can see anything that's available all the time." In other words, the shop window has gotten huge. In many industries, transparency lowered prices because we could discover more information about what went into them. But in art, that's been offset by the increase in potential buyers. It also helps, says Moses, that the supply of rich people has increased dramatically since 1950. The real froth in the market, unsurprisingly, is being created by Chinese collectors who are throwing money at both traditional and modern Chinese art (and at French estate wine, but that's another story). Still, Murphy says half the new buyers last year were non-Asian and all the newbies bought 30% of the total.

This new pool of buyers has a clear preference for modern art, which explains why artists like Damien Hirst are churning out canvases in almost production-line quantities to meet demand. To New York University art historian Pepe Karmel, there's a certain logic to the hunger for the new. "If you are a hedge-fund trader or a venture-cap dude or in real estate, you are in the business of thinking about the future, and in a way that's what contemporary art does."

And if the next 10 years are anything like the past 10, you should buy abstract art over abstract mortgage derivatives. Art demand, says Murphy, is such that the chance prices will go backward is diminishing. Art, like stocks, has certainly crashed before. But at least you'll have something to look at when you're broke. ■

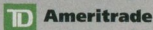




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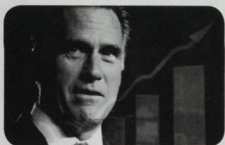
Tuned In



A super-PAC spot wrongly tied Gingrich to China



Romney's commercial quoted Obama out of context



A Gingrich-friendly film and ad demonized Romney

Truth Vigilantes, Attack! Why shouldn't the press call out political lies?

By James Poniewozik

WHEN NEW YORK TIMES PUBLIC EDITOR Arthur Brisbane took to his blog on Jan. 12 to ask his readers, *SHOULD THE TIMES BE A TRUTH VIGILANTE?* he did more than coin an awesome potential band name. He voiced a major concern of the press in an election year about how far political reporters should go in challenging dubious claims. And he touched a nerve among readers: within hours he had hundreds of comments, most echoing Karen Schlosberg, who wrote, "I am speechless and horrified that the *Times* feels it needs to ask that question."

In fairness to Brisbane, he wasn't suggesting that the *Times* give up on truth. He was worrying that reporters risk sacrificing their objectivity by calling out distortions in the body of news stories or by "choosing to correct one fact over another." Still, choosing which facts to report is part of the job—otherwise, your daily newspaper would fill a warehouse—so why not which facts to correct?

But the anxiety he gets at is understandable when you look at the onslaught of attack ads hitting South Carolina and Florida, leaving journalists to sort through charge after hyperbolic charge like doctors doing triage in a combat hospital. One accuses Mitt Romney of owning 15 homes (a claim rated "false" by independent fact checker Politifact). Another links Newt Gingrich to China's one-child policy ("pants on fire," per Politifact). By the time Stephen Colbert (*R-Comedy Central*) aired a super-PAC spot comparing Romney to

Jack the Ripper (arguing that if "corporations are people," then Bain Capital's practice of carving up companies equals vivisection), it barely seemed like satire.

Sometimes a fact check is a straightforward call. A Romney ad included audio of Barack Obama saying, "If we keep talking about the economy, we're going to lose"—without noting that Obama was quoting a John McCain campaign official in 2008. A Democratic National Committee online video made hay of Romney's saying, "I like being able to fire people," but didn't mention that he was talking about inept health-insurance companies. Who wouldn't like to fire them?

In other cases, politicians' dishonesty—like yours and mine—is not a matter of cut-and-dried fact. The most damaging falsehoods can be fuzzy or a matter of interpretation; one voter's bald-faced lie is another voter's larger truth. Brisbane, for example, cites Romney's claim that Obama "spends a lot of time apologizing for America." Obama has not used the word *apologize* in any such speech, but a Romney partisan could counter that you

don't need to use the word *apologize* or *sorry* to convey contrition. So should a reporter simply repeat Romney's charge and let the reader decide—because who's to say what an apology is, really?

Nonsense. Critics can disagree about Obama's foreign policy or his speeches abroad. But to cast them as "apology"—implying that he is ashamed of the country he leads and has said so—is a stretch at best and dishonest at worst, and it should be noted.

So call me biased. Journalists who make these kinds of judgments will inevitably open themselves and their employers to charges of bias, but so what? A journalism that calls out obvious lies but gives distortions a free pass is, more and more readers and viewers realize, as good as useless. And corrections should be made whenever possible in the news stories that quote the false claims, not relegated to sidebars or separate websites. Outlets like Politifact are great, but the whole truth should not be optional further reading.

Yes, people will say the refereeing is partisan, especially if it turns out one campaign is dirtier than another. But if politicians are going to throw around insults like "corporate raider" and "socialist," people expect their news outlets to challenge the terms and cut through the mud.

Which, to be fair, the *Times* and its peers do very often. But news outlets (*TIME* included) should never be fearful that doing their job aggressively and calling a lie a lie will make them look like political hit men. With so many finely tuned distortions out there and billions of dollars available to spread them this election year, the truth is going to need a few vigilantes on its side. ■

A journalism that gives distortions a free pass is, more and more readers and viewers realize, as good as useless



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Joel Stein



I Hope I Die Before I Have to Live with Old People. In retirement, boomers are just as annoying as they were in their 20s

I'VE SPENT THE PAST 10 YEARS PREPARING to be an intolerable old person. I've been learning about wine, classical music and Samuel Johnson. I plan to one day drop this knowledge on an over-55 community in Palm Springs, Calif., where I can drive drunk on my golf cart with my like-aged friends, re-creating my college life. Only this time I'll have physiology for an excuse as to why I'm not having sex.

Then I learned, to my surprise, that not all old people get along. I'd foolishly assumed old people were all the same: kind of cranky, a little confused, not quite either male or female. But medical science and demography are delivering up different kinds of old people, and they are not mixing well: regular old people are now running into old people in retirementville, renewing a generational clash that has been boring me my entire life. According to this month's *Orange Coast* magazine, boomers, who just started to turn 65 last year, are moving into retirement communities and driving the Greatest Generation crazy with their rock music and pot smoking. Again!

In Orange County's Laguna Woods

Village, a gated 55-and-over community of 18,000 people, there was a dustup after an older member complained about younger members' growing medical marijuana to cope with the condition of being around superold people. Then the newcomers started a Baby Boomers Club that organizes wine tastings, hosts a drum circle, books Beatles cover bands in the clubhouses and invites the rock bands that have sprung up at the complex to perform at the yearly Woodstock Festival. The Greatest Generation may have bravely survived the Great Depression and saved Europe from tyranny, but they clearly did something to piss off their kids.

The new retirees are strong-arming

the remote to dump *The Lawrence Welk Show* and tune in, I fear, to *Laugh-In*. They're bothering octogenarians about recycling their Efferdent boxes. A recent NPR show I heard discussed the rise of STDs in retirement communities. This was the first thing that made me agree with the Tea Party about NPR funding.

So I have to completely rethink my retirement plan. It's not that I'm afraid of spending time with the generation younger than me. They're going to be silently sitting in the cafeteria texting one another. But I'm not going to enjoy driving golf carts drunk if I'm passing by a bunch of 85-year-olds in tie-dye sitting in a circle and rubbing one another's backs.

To find out how they're dealing with the cranky codgers in their 80s, I called my Aunt Harriet and Uncle Bruce, who live at the Four Seasons at Metedeconk Lakes, a gated 55-and-older community in New Jersey that they love. "We don't have many people over 75," Harriet said. And the few superold there seem to get along with everybody. "This one man started

this group that I love, the political group," she said. "Though after a couple of years I got to know people so well, and their political beliefs, that I knew what they were going to say before they even said it. It got boring." *TIME* magazine is 88 years old and somehow still hasn't learned this.

She and Uncle Bruce, who are of the preboomer generation, live with people who are mostly their age. So they've gone to performances in the clubhouse by the 70-year-old comedian Robert Klein and 1950s rock bands. There's a dance committee. "We do the Lindy, we do the Electric Slide. We're doing all the things that we know because it's hard to learn new things," Harriet said. For that to make sense, you have to understand that many of these people's kids had bar mitzvahs in the 1980s. Also, the Electric Slide does not require picking your feet up very much.

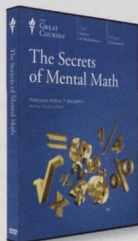
When I told my lovely wife Cassandra the good news that there are smaller, newer retirement communities where we can live with our contemporaries, she told me that we are not going to live in any retirement community. "You know how I have to convince you not to go to a random book party or the opening of a restaurant?" she said. "Retirement living would be like that times 10. I picture just reading books. Gardening. I picture doing a lot of stuff by myself." Where are we going so she could do all that stuff by herself? "I would like to live in a college town with old professors and young people," she said. "Except I wouldn't because those academic types are annoying."

Maybe she's right. My plan was flawed because we don't all age into more sophisticated versions of ourselves as I figured. Everyone in my retirement community will be rewatching classic superhero movies, eating cupcakes, rocking out to gangstap cover bands and explaining the Celtic translations of their smudged tattoos. We are definitely going to have to move to a college town. And I'm going to have to become a professor. So I have students and faculty to talk to. Because apparently, no one is going to be talking to me at home. ■





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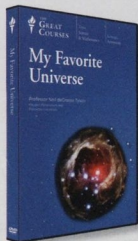
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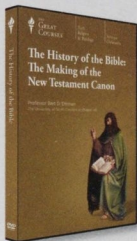
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10 Questions

To keep in shape, Rosalynn Carter, 84, and Jimmy, 87, try to ride every day on their Trikes



Nobel Prize winner and 39th President **Jimmy Carter** on Israel, Iran and teaching Sunday school

Your new book, *Through the Year with Jimmy Carter*, is a collection of devotionals. You've been a Sunday-school teacher for 35 years?

Longer than that. I started teaching when I was 18 years old, as a midshipman at the Naval Academy in Annapolis. And now I teach at our local church here in Plains. We only have 635 people in Plains, and we have 11 churches full.

Should voters care about the faith of candidates?

I think moral values would be a better way, but I don't see how you can separate faith from moral values. I also don't maintain that you have to be a Christian to exhibit those characteristics in private life or public office.

Do American politicians overplay their Christianity?

Excessively so. Some of that originated in opposition to me. The so-called Moral Majority came into being to oppose me and was espoused by Ronald Reagan in his campaign against me.

Are you optimistic about Israel's future?

No, I'm not. The U.S. has the least influence in the Middle East now than it's had since Israel was formed. We are totally immune to any sort of influence from the Palestinians or from the Arab world. We are completely in bed with the Israelis, who are persecuting the Palestinians horribly,

and this is contrary, I think, to the best interest of Israel.

What do you think it means that Iran seems to have its first nuclear fuel rod?

Well, of course, the religious leaders of Iran have sworn on

their word of honor that they're not going to manufacture nuclear weapons. If they are lying, then I don't see that as a major catastrophe because they'll only have one or two military weapons. Israel probably has 300 or so.

Would you handle the Iran hostage crisis differently now?

No. A lot of my advisers said that we needed to be more aggressive, and I was tempted.

But I was patient, and every hostage came home safe—but a lot later than I wanted.

What concerns you most about America today?

Every one of my successors has been in gratuitous wars. I think we could have resolved most of those conflicts in a peaceful way. And we share very little of our wealth with other people. These are a violation of the teachings of the Prince of Peace.

Do you have to be able to square-dance to be President?

Not exactly, but if I hadn't been a square dancer, I wouldn't have been President. When I had my first political campaign, my fellow square dancers, who came from all over my district, helped me in the individual counties, and I was very narrowly elected. Had I lost that first election in 1962, I would not have stayed in politics.

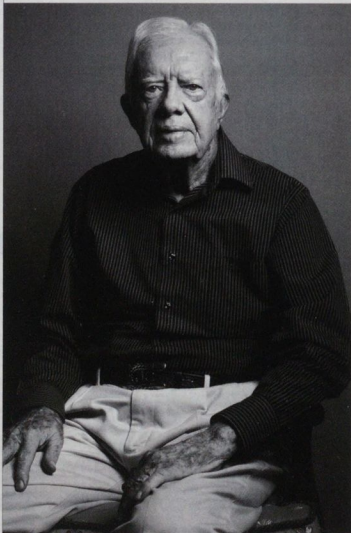
How much can a President do to fix the economy?

The President's a distant third after the Federal Reserve and the Congress—except when we do something like go into Iraq and have an unnecessary war.

Given your faith, are you looking forward to dying?

I'm not looking forward to it. I don't fear it, though. I would rather stay alive and well for as long as I can. I have an adventurous life. My wife and I have been married for 65 years. We take our whole family off on a vacation every year right after Christmas, and I pay all the bills, so 100% of the family shows up.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE



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